

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XIV

JULY, 1885

No. 1

WASHINGTON IN MARCH AND APRIL, 1861

IMMEDIATELY after the inauguration of President Lincoln there came in the capital of the country the lull which preceded the cyclone. To those who looked with great solicitude on passing events and toward the near future there appeared one bright spot in the horizon, which was that the United States Government had at least an executive head, duly installed and universally recognized.

There existed, however, great cause of anxiety in that blindness to danger which too often afflicts the leaders of a political party recently successful and for the first time succeeding to power. Few, very few, of the then leaders of the Republican party appreciated the serious, deeply-seated hostility of either the chiefs or the rank and file of the secession movement in the States which had already declared themselves out of the Federal Union, or the determination and activity of the advocates of secession in those of the Southern States that still remained in the Union.

The most prominent men in the successful party, with few exceptions, made light, in ordinary conversation, of threatened dangers; and professed to believe and I think did believe, that all violent opposition to the United States Government would soon melt away before the power of official patronage. "There will be," said they, "a vast deal of bluster, but when it comes to a question of actually fighting against the Government of the United States, there will be none of it."

The general tone of the conversation of those prominent men may be appreciated by the following expression attributed to one of them: "I would want," said he, "no better fortune than to have the right to collect a quarter of a dollar from each Southern man who will cross the Potomac to ask for Federal office under the administration of President Lincoln!" I do not think that he died as poor as he would have been had his income been derived from that source.

The first days of the new administration were passed in receiving congratulations on the victory of the party and in the rapid disposition of the principal offices made vacant by the resignations and removals of their

CHARLESTON MERCURY

EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December 20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

"To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE UNION IS DISSOLVED!

From a rare copy in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

recent occupants; and so busy were the President and the members of his cabinet in these agreeable occupations that it seemed to the anxious lookers-on that not only were they blinded by success, but also so deafened by gratulatory shouts and the clamors for preferment that they could not hear the distant but distinct mutterings of the coming storm, which were so easily heard by others.

Meantime the Government of the "Confederate States of America" had been organized at Montgomery, Alabama, since the 9th of February, and there skillful officers who had resigned from the United States' service were actively engaged in organizing an army and a navy.

Fort Sumter

with its brave little garrison was in a state of siege, with hostile batteries on all available points already prepared against it. Yet it was confidently asserted in Washington, where the government was making no military preparations, that all would pass in "bluster."

During the winter I had organized, under the orders of the Secretary of War (Mr. Holt) and the General-in-chief of the army (Lieutenant-General Scott) and with their vigorous support, nearly three thousand five hundred volunteers, citizens of the District of Columbia; and these volunteers, who had already rendered such excellent service before and during the inauguration of President Lincoln, I kept under as active drill as possible; for I was under the firm conviction that we were on the eve of a great and desperate civil war involving the existence of our government, and that this war might break out at any moment. I recognized the fact that while the explosion might thus occur at any moment, the Federal District, with all its public departments, would in such case have at the first outbreak hardly any other means of defense than these troops.

As Inspector-General of the District of Columbia I had large means of obtaining information respecting the feeling in and around the District, and early in March I earnestly recommended that these organized volunteers, or at least a portion of them, should be mustered into the service of the United States for the purpose of furnishing proper guards for the President's house and the public buildings in the city, but was only laughed at for my pains, as being unnecessarily anxious. Nevertheless I continued to perfect the organization, discipline and drill of the companies, a work in which I was ably seconded by the good will and earnestness of the volunteers themselves and constantly supported by the encouragement and advice of the general-in-chief and Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General at the headquarters of the army.

Day by day army and naval officers occupying important positions were resigning their commissions and leaving service to join the forces of their respective States which had seceded; and the resignations were always accepted as in ordinary times, no action being taken by the government to prevent their departure, when it was known and even openly announced that they were going directly to join the forces of declared enemies to the United States Government. To those who really expected war it seemed as if the executive departments of the government of the country were deliberately furnishing experienced officers, trained in the service of the government, for the purpose of perfecting a respectable, well-organized force with which to fight when that force should be ready to attack it. And yet no steps were taken toward strengthening the forces of the government.

Those who spoke of coming war were apparently regarded as pestiferous alarmists, and high public functionaries turned wearily away from such to resume the more agreeable duty of listening to propositions for filling some good fat office by the appointment of a political friend.

The railway trains and steamboats going south from Washington were laden with military goods purchased in northern cities for the supply of seceded states and states discussing secession; and the telegraph and United States mails were freely and openly used in the interest of military effort against the national government without any action taken to prevent or control such proceedings.

The people of the District of Columbia, at least that large majority of the people who desired the continued existence of the Government of the United States, began to despair while noticing the indifference of the executive to the open encouragement of the new confederacy by large numbers of people in the border states, and in the national capital itself. It was difficult to learn anything more about the action of the so-called "government" at Montgomery than the leaders of that organization saw fit from time to time to publish; but every act of the United States' executive and all its lack of action were promptly and openly telegraphed all over the South by the voluntary and official agents of the Confederacy and of the various seceded states, who were permitted to remain in the capital and there to act, not only as purveyors for the military forces organizing in the South, but also as preachers of war against the government.

Finally the most desperate element of society in the District seemed to take up the notion that a government which permitted such things to pass unopposed and unnoticed had not force enough to put down lawlessness in them; and there came serious danger of riot and plundering in the very capital. Designing men did not fail to see their opportunity to gain by such a feeling, as the following incident will prove.

One evening I had made my usual duty call on the general-in-chief and had returned to my quarters when a messenger from head-quarters summoned me thither. It was past ten o'clock when I re-entered General Scott's room, and there I found Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, in conversation with the general.

General Scott asked me if I knew Count ———, and on my replying that I did not have that honor, Mr. Seward laughingly remarked: "Why, Colonel Stone, to say that you do not know the Count is to argue yourself unknown." He then described the personal appearance of the nobleman in question and informed me that he could be found at Mrs. Ulrich's boarding-house.

The general-in-chief informed me that this "gentleman" was playing the demagogue in a dangerous manner and exciting desperate men in Washington to pillage by descanting on the wealth of such men as Corcoran and Riggs and others and hinting that it would be easy under existing circumstances to burn and sack a little in such houses with great chance of



William D. Sewall

profit. The general then directed me to go in uniform, without delay, to the rooms of Count —— and to inform him that I visited him by order of Lieutenant-General Scott, who directed me to say to him that law and order would be carefully protected in the District of Columbia, that property would be carefully protected, and that on the slightest sign of an attempt by licentious men to break the peace, military force would be promptly used to repress disorder; while men inciting roughs to such action as it was known the count had advised or insinuated, would be dealt with in a summary manner. I was, moreover, to tell the Count that his movements

and words had been well noted, and that a repetition of some of his incendiary propositions, made in supposed privacy, would place him where such conduct should place him. I carried out my instructions to the letter and had a curious interview with the nobleman in question, which was duly reported to the general-in-chief and Secretary of State within half an hour from the reception of the order.

Whether or not this matter had anything to do with the action taken in reference to the muster into service of some of the volunteers, I do not know; but on the 8th April I was notified that four companies of my volunteers would be mustered into the service for duty in the District. I urged strongly that all the completely organized companies would not be too many or enough, and the order was changed from four to eight companies. The muster-in was commenced on the 10th of April in the inclosed space on the north side of the War Office and attracted great attention on the part of the citizens as well as on the part of temporary residents. These companies as fast as mustered in were placed under my command; and before the first eight had passed through the necessary formalities, eight more were called for, and so on until thirty companies had been received. Thus the first citizen troops called into the service of the nation to oppose secession were those of the District of Columbia. They responded to the call of duty with cheerful alacrity, with full ranks, and, as I believe, with a clearer sense of the dangers of the situation than any of the state troops who soon afterward responded to the call of the President for three months' service.

With these troops in hand I immediately commenced the nightly occupation of the grounds around the Executive Mansion and of the principal public buildings, posting them after sunset each evening and withdrawing them shortly after sunrise in the morning, keeping a reserve always on duty in the armories during the day in constant readiness for any emergency.

This act of taking into service even a few troops, produced in the capital an excellent effect. The friends of the Union among the citizens of the Federal District took heart, and the enemies of the Union, while of course ridiculing the action, became more circumspect. Both parties seemed at once to recognize the fact that the government of the United States had resolved to act as a government, at least as far as the District of Columbia was concerned. The ice once broken, the work went on. The War Department authorized me to organize and bring into service more companies. I organized those in service in battalions of four companies each, placed over them the most experienced officers of the force,

and at the same time pressed the organization of five new companies in process of formation.

I have never found, among new troops, a finer spirit than was exhibited by those District of Columbia volunteers. They uncomplainingly submitted themselves to strict military discipline and from the moment of



William Wells

entering the service cheerfully performed arduous duty to which they were, of course, quite unaccustomed. They seemed to be fully impressed with the truth that they were in service to protect their own homes as well as the government, and as a rule they acted as if, while on duty, they were attending to their own interests.

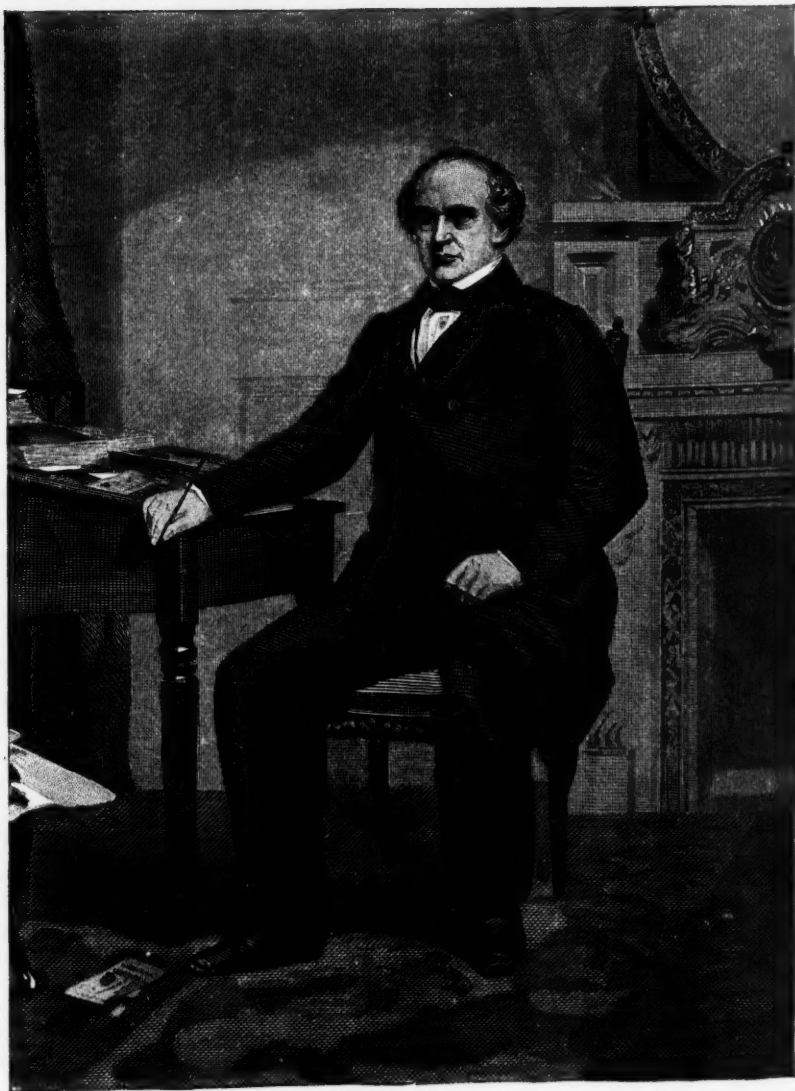
From the first I took, under the orders of the general-in-chief, especial care in guarding the Executive Mansion; without, however, doing it so ostentatiously as to attract public attention. It was not considered advisable that it should appear that the President of the United States was for his personal safety obliged to surround himself by armed guards. Mr.

Lincoln was not consulted in the matter. But Captain Todd, formerly an officer of the regular army, who was, I believe, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Lincoln, was then residing in the Presidential Mansion, and with him I was daily and nightly in communication, in order that, in case of danger, one person in the President's household should know where to find the main body of the guard, to the officer commanding which Captain Todd was each night introduced. Double sentries were placed in the shrubbery all around the mansion and the main body of the guard was posted in a vacant basement room from which a staircase led to the upper floors.

A person entering by the main gate and walking up to the front door of the Executive Mansion during the night could see no sign of a guard ; but from the moment any one entered the grounds by *any* entrance, he was under the view of at least two riflemen standing silent in the shrubbery, and any suspicious movement on his part would have caused his immediate arrest ; and inside, the call of Captain Todd would have been promptly answered by armed men. The precautions were taken before Fort Sumter was fired on as well as afterward.

One night, near midnight, I entered the grounds for the purpose of inspecting the guard and was surprised to see a bright light in the East room. As I entered the basement I heard a loud noise as of many voices talking loudly, mingled with the ringing of arms, coming from the great reception room. On questioning the commander of the guard I learned that many gentlemen had entered the house at a late hour, but they had come in boldly, no objection had been made from within, but on the contrary Captain Todd had told him that all was right. I ascended the interior staircase and entered the East room, where I found more than fifty men, among whom were Hon. Cassius M. Clay and General Lane. All were armed with muskets which they were generally examining, and it was the ringing of many rammers in the musket barrels which had caused the noise I had heard. Mr. Clay informed me that he and a large number of political friends *deeming it very improper that the President's person should in such times be unguarded*, had formed a voluntary guard which would remain there every night and see to it that Mr. Lincoln was well protected. I applauded the good spirit exhibited, but did not, however, cease the posting of the outside guards, nor the nightly inspections myself as before, until the time came when others than myself became responsible for the safety of the President.

As it seemed to me that Washington might be suddenly cut off from communication with the rest of the country, I made careful inquiries as to exactly whence came the daily supplies of food and as to the quantities



S. P. M. H.

generally on hand, especially of bread supplies. I knew that a beleaguered town of sixty thousand people might be kept in order if the population as well as the garrison were well provided with food ; but that in case the population could not procure at least *bread*, it would surely make trouble for those charged with the defense of the place. A quiet inspection of provision stores in the city made by myself and one other, resulted in the disquieting discovery that there was rarely on hand among the bakers and grocers more than about three days' supply of flour. This state of things resulted from the fact that there were large flouring mills at Georgetown, only three miles off, whence the supply came as it might be wanted. On making quiet inquiries at Georgetown I learned that on the day of inquiry there were about 10,000 barrels of flour in the mill magazines, which amount I estimated would largely suffice for twenty days or more for the population and garrison of the whole District. I also learned that shipments were taking place usually about as fast as the mills produced. As isolation would cause supplies of wheat for the mills to fail, I deemed it only safe to cause myself to be informed daily of the amount of flour on hand there, and most fortunate it proved that I did so. One quiet Sunday afternoon at fifteen minutes after three o'clock, while at dinner with a friend, I learned that a large portion of the flour at Georgetown had been rapidly placed on board two or three large schooners, which would sail the following morning, while nearly all the remainder in store would be shipped the next day. I left the hospitable table immediately and went to the War Department, where I fortunately met the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, just leaving his office. I rapidly stated the case to him and earnestly recommended the seizure of all the flour at Georgetown without delay, and its conveyance to safe magazines in the public buildings in Washington. Mr. Cameron acted with admirable promptness, asking only two questions. 1st. Had I the force disposable to seize and guard the flour on the vessels and in store at Georgetown? 2d. Where could we place it in safety? I replied that I had the necessary force already in Georgetown to effect the seizure and guard the flour, and that we could easily store seven thousand barrels in the basement of the Capitol, in the General Post Office and in the basement of the Treasury building.

He instantly gave me orders to make the seizure, saying, "You, Colonel Stone, see to the soldier part—seize the flour and guard it, first there and then here, and I will see to the transportation!" I left promptly to do my part, while Mr. Cameron *ran* toward the office of Captain Beckwith, the quartermaster, which was near the War Office. Captain Beckwith was an officer full of energy, and within an hour long lines of drays,

express-wagons, carts and all sorts and kinds of wheeled vehicles were rumbling through the streets of Washington laden with barrels of flour. Late into the night that rumbling continued. Throughout the night soldiers and laborers were handling the barrels, and on the following morning the basement of the Capitol held three thousand barrels, the General Post Office two thousand, and the Treasury building two thousand. Washington was provisioned for a siege, and a few days later that flour served garrison and population with good bread while Washington was cut off from communication with North and South. Many of the present residents in the capital can doubtless remember the rumbling of the flour carts on that Sunday afternoon and night, and can remember also the great bakery on Capitol Hill which served so many.

After the passage of the ordinance of secession by the convention of the State of Virginia, but before nominal action had been taken on it by a vote of the people, the condition of affairs in the national capital was rendered yet more critical than before. There were many officers, Virginians by birth or by marriage, some of high grade in the military and naval services who had remained in service hoping that the Mother of Presidents would remain in the Union, but who now tendered their resignations, had them accepted, and left for Virginia. From this sudden vacation of important positions considerable inconvenience resulted, perhaps some confusion. It became evident that military movements were taking place on the opposite side of the Potomac, and it was quite certain that any troops on that side of the river could not be regarded as our allies. With the approval of the general-in-chief I placed strong guards on the "Long Bridge" and "Chain Bridge," opening the "draw" in the former and thus controlling the passage; but, until after open acts of hostility took place large numbers of passes were given, and even after the burning of the Gosport Navy-Yard, I think, resigned officers were permitted to freely go and join the enemy.

As the attitude of Maryland was equivocal, guards were placed at Tennyson's Town, far out on Fourteenth Street and Seventh Street and at Benning's Bridge.

Each of the most important public buildings was not only guarded during the night by details of troops which I made daily, but on the suggestion of Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend, an officer of the regular army was placed nightly in each building.

These officers, Major McDowell at the Capitol, Colonel Bache in the State Department, Colonel Taylor at the Patent Office, Lieutenant-Colonel Garesché at the War Office, etc., etc., were on duty in their respective

offices during the day and passed the night in the buildings to which they were assigned, to be awakened and take charge of the defense in case of attack. From my experience in visiting them during the night, I think that they allowed themselves but little sleep, for I do not remember to have ever found one of them asleep, although they were expected to rest except in case of attack. Captain William B. Franklin, Corps of Engineers, who had charge of the construction of the Treasury Building, remained there at night and took command of the 200 or 300 men whom I detailed daily for service there. He solidly barricaded the openings of the basement and thus rendered the building a sort of citadel which could be desperately held, it being flanked by the State Department building; and about one hundred men were placed under the command of Captain Shiras in the Riggs' building opposite the Treasury front.

For my part, after having, during the day, made necessary details and attended to the organization and wants of the whole force, I, during the night, placed the guards in the President's house and grounds, and visited all the guards and pickets at least once between evening and morning, making the entire circuit of the District. The only sleep which I could snatch was taken in a carriage while driving from one picket to another. The drive from Long Bridge to Chain Bridge would afford me a nap; that from Tennally Town to the Fourteenth Street picket, another; that from Seventh Street to Benning's Bridge, yet another, and that from Benning's Bridge to the Capitol, one more. I usually arrived back at the Executive Square an hour or more before daybreak and passed the time until sunrise with Captain Franklin, after having paid a second visit to the guard in the Executive Mansion.

Magruder's Battery was stationed near the Executive Square behind the Headquarters of Lieutenant-General Scott, whence it could be promptly sent to reinforce any point which might be attacked, and Barry's Battery was stationed at the Arsenal. Magruder suddenly departed after the secession of Virginia, and the battery passed under the command of Ricketts, under whose name and command it afterward won fresh renown.

When Virginia passed her ordinance of secession, Alexandria was promptly occupied by a small force of State troops; and I was informed that a small cannon had been placed on the wharf to command the navigation of the Potomac. I was also informed that on the day following that on which the information was received, the large steamboats which made the railway connection between Washington and Acquia Creek would be brought to and detained at Alexandria for the use of the commonwealth of Virginia. This information I conveyed to Mr. Cameron, Secre-

tary of War, and he, while very desirous of not taking any premature violent action, nevertheless gave orders for the seizure and detention of these steamboats. They were promptly occupied and held at their wharf by two companies of the District of Columbia volunteers.

This vigorous action, which took place at about four o'clock in the afternoon, created great excitement in Washington. The Unionists were delighted; the Secessionists were furious and denounced the act as unconstitutional, illegal and *irritating*.

Late in the evening of the same day I learned from excellent authority that the steamer *St. Nicholas* (afterwards made quite notorious by her capture) was to sail at seven o'clock the next morning for Baltimore, laden with *flour and molasses*. It was a new thing for Washington to supply Baltimore with food, and at this time, especially, food was more valuable in Washington than Baltimore. It was evident that the steamer would be captured at Alexandria if she sailed, and the provisions would go to supply the Virginia troops. I therefore sought Mr. Cameron and found him at about half-past ten o'clock in his room at the War Office. Mr. Cameron looked *wearied*, as he had a perfect right to after so long a day's work in his office, and on my reporting the information concerning the *St. Nicholas*, he said: "Well, Colonel, you can seize her as you have the other steamers; but this violent action on the part of the government is sure to create troublesome excitement throughout the country."

I said to him: "Mr. Secretary, why should it cause undue excitement or even surprise? War is made on the government. Has not the government at least the right of self-defense?" Mr. Cameron replied: "Yes, it is all right, but our people are not accustomed to see the government take such violent action, and from Maine to Texas to-morrow morning, the newspapers will discuss nothing but these seizures. Before midnight this news will be flashed all over the country."

I said to him: "Mr. Secretary, why should it be so? Why do you allow it? Do you receive by telegraph any important news from Montgomery or New Orleans or Charleston? Why should one side act as if all were peace, while the other side uses all the rights of war?"

Mr. Cameron reflected a moment and then said: "Colonel Stone, you mean that we should seize the telegraph as well as the steamboats!"

I replied: "Yes, Mr. Secretary, that is exactly what I mean. Nothing should, from this time out, go over the wires from here unless approved by the War Department. We are in a state of war, and should act accordingly."

Mr. Cameron asked: "Will you do it?" I answered, "Yes, sir! immediately, if you give the order." With a bright look he said, "Do it."

I left his office, drove to the armory of the National Rifles Company commanded by an admirable officer, Captain Smead, and directed him to send twenty men under his first Lieutenant (Davidson) to Seventh Street wharf to seize and occupy the Steamer *St. Nicholas*, and having seen the detail off



Simon Cameron

on its mission, I ordered Captain Smead to take with him a squad of ten men and to meet me in ten minutes from that time at the general telegraph office on Pennsylvania Avenue, and should I nod to him, to immediately take possession of the office and allow no despatches to be sent without the authority of the War Department. I then drove to the house of the

President of the transportation company to which the *St. Nicholas* belonged, informed him of the seizure of the steamer by the government *in the interest of his company*, and then drove to the telegraph office. Entering the office on the ground floor, where messages were received and sent up to the operators' room by an elevator, I placed myself at the desk and appeared to be preparing a despatch. Hardly was I posted there when Mr. S——n, the reporter of the *New York Times*, hurriedly entered, holding in his hand a long despatch. He walked to the counter and was about to send off his despatch when he saw me at the desk and turned at once, evidently hoping to get some additional news from the Inspector-General of the District: "Ah, good evening, Colonel, have you any news to-night?" "Yes, indeed, Mr. S——n, plenty of news," and I commenced the story of the Acquia Creek boats. "Oh, yes! I have all that down here in full; but has anything else of importance occurred?" "Yes, a great deal." Just then Mr. H——m, reporter of the *New York Herald* arrived with a despatch apparently longer than that of Mr. S——n. Mr. H——m, seeing the reporter of the *Times* in conversation with the Inspector-General rushed up to see to it that the *Herald* should not be behind the *Times* in news. "Ah, good evening, Colonel! has anything important happened to-night?" "Yes, Mr. H——m, I was just saying to Mr. S——n," and much to the disgust of Mr. S——n, I recommenced the story of the first two boats. Mr. H——m hastened to assure me that he was fully posted on the Acquia Creek boats as he had been to the wharf and learned all the particulars. Just then we heard the steady tramp of soldiers outside, and the command "Halt!" in Captain Smead's voice, rang out in front of the door. Captain Smead entered, I gave him a nod of recognition, and he walking up to the counter, laid his hand on it and said: "I take possession of this office in the name of the United States Government. Stop that elevator!"

Mr. H——m looked at me, then at Mr. S——n, and crying out: "Sold!" he ran out of the door. Surmising that he was about to go up to the operators' room by the front door, I told Captain Smead to hold the lower office and to send a sergeant and three men to the operators' room above to see to it that no instrument was used without authority. Going up to the operators' room I found the Superintendent, who was naturally enough in a state of great excitement and indignation, denouncing my action as one which was outrageous and contrary to the orders of the government, etc., etc. He said a great deal about "fearful responsibility," but I quietly told him that I was fully aware of the responsibility and had assumed it when taking possession. He declared he would go at once and complain to the Secretary of War, if he had to seek him in his own

bed-room, etc. I told him that it would not be so difficult to find the Hon. Secretary of War, as that high functionary was in his office, where I was then going to report to him, and that the most certain and expeditious manner of reaching him would be to take a seat in my carriage, which I had the pleasure of offering him.

This calmed his excitement, and he drove with me to the War Office, where I made my report to Mr. Cameron, who seemed to be delighted with the result.

On the 19th of April, the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts State Militia arrived at Washington, after hard fighting in the streets of Baltimore, and was quartered in the Capitol.

Early in the morning of the 23d of April (if I am not mistaken in the date), I received orders from Mr. Cameron through General Scott to seize and hold possession of the Washington station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, which company, for reasons best known to its Board of Directors, had ceased to run regular trains between Baltimore and the Capital. I sent orders to a battalion of the District of Columbia volunteers to meet me there, and on arriving at the station I found it stripped of everything useful excepting the station master, who received my communication without signs of astonishment. There was no rolling-stock in the yard excepting a broken-down locomotive, which served only as a pump, and two or three broken-down and quite unserviceable old passenger cars. Just as I was making these uncomfortable discoveries the Secretary of War appeared on the scene, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend. They walked with me around the station, and Mr. Cameron locked the telegraph office and handed me the key, which was of but little value, as the operator had removed his instruments; and after confirming to the station-master the act I had made of taking possession in the name of the government, Mr. Cameron left, directing me to seize any rolling-stock that might come in. Subsequently I was ordered by the General-in-chief to get possession of the road if possible as far as Annapolis Junction, and to learn as much as possible concerning the state of affairs on the Annapolis branch which had been torn up. The battalion having arrived, I posted guards in such manner that they could not be seen from the railroad, giving instructions to those by the rear gate to close it and form across the track in case a train should enter the station.

Soon there rang out a loud whistle, and a powerful locomotive drawing only two passenger cars and one baggage car rushed into the station. Three gentlemen, who were all the passengers, sprang out of the first car and walked rapidly out of the station to the street without apparently no-

ticing the presence there of two officers, one of these passengers being, as I was informed, a high official of the company. The men belonging to the train rapidly threw out on to the platform what luggage and freight the baggage car contained, after which they called out "All right," and got back to their places. The engineer was about to back off with his train when I stepped near him and ordered him to shunt his train in the yard. He looked astonished and informed me that he had received orders to go directly back to Baltimore, and go he must. I informed him that I was in charge of that branch of the railroad, and that he must obey my orders and place his train where I had told him. Looking to the rear as if with an intention to rush his train out of the station, he saw the track covered with soldiers, and sullenly he obeyed my orders. I immediately sent an officer to the General-in-chief with a report of results so far obtained, and received orders to hold all I could of the road and to send out a train with troops as soon as practicable. He promised me any assistance I might ask and he could give.

Meantime I had learned from the conductor of the train which had come in, a man well disposed toward the government, that a freight train was on the way to Washington, but that the same orders for immediate return had been given to that train as to the first. The same disposition as before was made of the troops, and in a short time I was in possession of a second large locomotive and five good substantial box cars, which were disposed of in the same manner as those of the first train. I then ordered that a train should be made up of the most powerful of the two locomotives and the most commodious cars, at the same time sending information to the General-in-chief that in a short time I would be able to send a train to Annapolis Junction and asking if he had any further orders for me on that subject. Lieutenant-General Scott sent me his congratulations, with orders to act according to my own discretion, at the same time inquiring if I wanted anything to insure success which he could furnish. I replied simply: "I want Captain Franklin."

Then a difficulty arose. I had no troops at my disposal other than the District of Columbia volunteers; and they had been sworn into service only for duty in the Federal District. It would have been an evident breach of their engagement to order them against their will to go outside the District on duty which might be very dangerous. I caused the nearest company to be drawn up before me, and said to them: "Soldiers, you have been mustered into the service for duty in the District of Columbia only. I do not claim the right to send you out of the District without your consent, and will not do so. But now, I want 200 men to board that

train yonder, to go wherever I say, to do whatever they may be ordered to do, under the command of any officer I may designate. This service is important for the government, and it may be dangerous. All in this company who wish to go under these conditions step one pace to the front!" The entire company, excepting, I believe, the bugler, stepped to the front instantly, and were promptly ordered into the cars, which they entered cheering. Another company was brought up. The same words were spoken to them, and the entire company stepped to the front and entered the cars, cheering and receiving the cheers of their comrades.

Captain W. B. Franklin (now General Franklin) reported for duty, received his instructions, and was presented to the troops in the train as their commander during the expedition. He was received with enthusiasm.

But another difficulty arose. The *locomotives had been tampered with since their arrival*, and neither of them would do duty! It occurred to me that the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts militia came from a country of work-shops, and I knew that it was the practice of mechanics to carry tools with them under all circumstances; so I sent a mounted officer at speed to the Capitol, with my compliments to the commanding officer of that regiment, requesting him to kindly send me as quickly as possible a half dozen locomotive builders with their tools; and in a few minutes half a dozen delighted mechanics (in Massachusetts uniform) came running into the station, one waving a monkey-wrench, another a hammer and chisel, another files, etc., etc., all calling out, "Where is she? let us get at her!" and within a few minutes our two locomotives were both serviceable.

Yet we were not done with difficulties. *Both the engineers had derailed*. Learning from the station-master where the engineer of the made-up train lived I sent a guard for him, and he was soon brought to his place. During the delay thus caused I had placed on the front platform two riflemen with loaded weapons, and had given them special instructions.

The engineer objected most strenuously to taking out the train, stating that it would cause his discharge by the railroad company. I ordered him to take his place promptly, which he thought it best under the circumstances to do, and he was then told that go he must, and if the railroad company discharged him or treated him unjustly I would see that he had a better place. Then, addressing both engineer and fireman, I said: "Do you see those two riflemen on the front platform? It is only fair to you that I should inform you what orders they have received. From this moment until the train shall return here, should either of you attempt to leave your places, one of those soldiers will shoot the attempted deserter. Moreover, should anything wrong occur with engine or

train one of those soldiers will shoot you, engineer; the other will shoot you, fireman. I would therefore advise you, for the sake of your own safety, not to run the train into any peril without orders from the commander of these troops, Captain Franklin."

The engineer replied: "These are hard lines, colonel. If the rebels have weakened a bridge or a culvert without my knowing it and the train should go down, then I should be killed without any fault of mine." I replied: "Yes, they are hard lines, but the times are hard. If you should have an accident without your fault, then you should be shot an innocent man and an unfortunate one. It would be your misfortune. But I do not believe that any bridge or culvert would be made dangerous by the rebels without your being informed of it; and if, knowingly, you wreck this train, you will deserve what you will, in such case, surely receive; you will then be justly shot on the spot." The train was then ordered to start, and went off slowly and steadily. I felt sure of the best efforts of the engineer and fireman.

Captain Franklin had orders to go, if practicable, as far as Annapolis Junction; to drop guards at bridges and other points where damage could be easily caused to impede his return, to gain as much information as possible respecting the condition of the Annapolis branch of the road, and as to the position of the troops under General Butler, and to return, bringing information not only as regarded the above subjects, but also as to the quantity of railroad material stored along the line of the road passed over, the number of important sidings at different stations, which might be taken up to afford materials for rebuilding the Annapolis road, etc.

Captain Franklin accomplished his mission, and reported to me on his return a few hours later. He had been to Annapolis Junction; had found no United States troops there; had noticed that the rails toward Annapolis had been torn up and carried away as far as he could see. He brought a list of sidings which could be taken up, and a rough estimate of the quantities of rails, ties, etc., which could be found along the line. Under the instructions I had given him, he was not to delay the return by attempting to make an accurate list in detail. It was rumored at Annapolis Junction that the troops under General Butler were moving toward the Junction and rebuilding the road.

I immediately sent the train out again with Captain Smead in command, to keep up communication to the Junction; and from that time we held control of the railroad to that point, ready to bring in such troops as General Butler might succeed in sending there.

On my reporting in person to Lieutenant-General Scott, he was pleased

to express himself as satisfied, and more than satisfied, with what had been accomplished, and informed me that the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, had been fortunate enough to secure the services of a very able railroad man, Mr. Thomas A. Scott, in whom Mr. Cameron seemed to have the greatest confidence, and that we could have the advantage of his services. He said that Mr. Scott had called upon him with or from Mr. Cameron, and had made the sensible suggestion that the extra tracks, called in railway parlance "sidings," should be measured to learn what amount of material could be had by pulling them up. I drew from my pocket the rough estimate of Captain Franklin and the more minute one made by Captain Smead, and told him that I had thought exactly as Mr. Scott had, that such information was worth having.

The old chief was delighted: and turning to Colonel Townsend, said: "Anticipated again! Oh! these rascally regulars!" This expression, "rascally regulars," was a pet one with the lieutenant-general, and he would often add: "I call them rascals because I love them."

The general said to me: "You asked me to send you Captain Franklin." "Yes, general, and I think you will agree with me that I asked for the right man." "Yes, sir!" said the general. "Yes, sir!" and then, after a moment's reflection, he added, as if thinking aloud: "Captain Franklin! a man who as yet has never done anything too quick or too slow!" Those who have known General William B. Franklin, from his cadetship to the present time, will appreciate the old general-in-chief's estimate of him.

The government soon after this owed much to Colonel Thomas A. Scott. He brought to the service of the country a strong mind, a body of iron endurance, and a wealth of practical knowledge on the working of railroads, the value of which to the government, at that time, cannot be estimated.

The manner in which communication was opened between the general-in-chief and General Butler at Annapolis is worthy of record. Several attempts had been made, by various officers, to carry dispatches through, but they had all been unsuccessful. I recommended for this service Lieutenant William Stone Abert of the 4th Artillery, who was an aid-de-camp on my staff. This young officer had been stationed at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and had been sent by the commanding officer of that fort to Washington with dispatches, by the way of Baltimore. When he landed at Baltimore he found that railway communication had been cut off, and he could not even hire a locomotive to take him on. Baltimore was in a state of wild excitement, and he rightly judged that any attempt to hire a horse

would cause suspicion of him and probably cause his temporary detention. While of slight form in appearance, he was quite an athlete, and a good pedestrian. He shouldered his portmanteau, and following the railroad track walked rapidly on to within some nine miles of Washington, where he was enabled to hire a one-horse vehicle, in which he drove to the capital and went straight to headquarters, where he duly delivered his dispatches, "with the dust of the road on them." As I was greatly in need of staff assistance, Lieutenant Abert was assigned to duty with me as aid-de-camp, in which capacity he rendered good service.

When it was found so difficult to find any one who could carry dispatches to General Butler, it seemed to me that the best man to carry such documents was he who had so safely brought in dispatches under difficulties. The general-in-chief held the same opinion, and Lieutenant Abert was ready to start almost at a moment's notice. He divested himself of all uniform excepting his military vest, the buttons of which would prove him a soldier of the United States, and carefully concealing the dispatches in his clothing he drove quietly out of Washington in a buggy, which he left at Bladensburg, I believe. Thence he walked on foot to Annapolis Junction, and down the railroad track toward Annapolis. He soon struck a *destruction train*, well manned, a large party pulling up the rails and ties, and loading them on platform-cars, which, as fast as loaded, were dragged off toward Annapolis. Abert immediately put off his overcoat, placed it on a car, and commenced aiding in the work of destroying the track. After working vigorously for some time, he was noticed as not being one of the original party, and one of the destroyers asked him his name, at the same time praising his strength and skill at the work. He replied, frankly, "My name is Abert." "Where do you live?" "Born in Washington. I have lately lived in Virginia." "All right." And so he went on until all the cars were loaded, and he threw himself on one of them and was transported to the vicinity of Annapolis. He had never been there before, and I remember the minute description of the outskirts of the town, and the pathway thence to Fort Severn that General Scott gave him. Lieutenant Abert told me afterward that every detail down to a white paling fence with a green gate before a house, given by the General, was minutely correct. When he recognized one of the landmarks given by the General, he slipped off the car, followed the pathway indicated, and in a few minutes was before General Butler, to whom he delivered his dispatches. He returned to Washington when the volunteers came in. Abert served with me as aid-de-camp, afterward as assistant adjutant-general, was promoted to a captaincy of cavalry, then to lieutenant-colonel and aid-de-camp, as

inspector-general of the 19th Corps d'Armée. He died of yellow fever shortly after the war while on duty in Texas.

After this digression, due to a gallant young officer, let us return to Washington and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Trains were kept running to insure the possession of the road, and to have transportation ready



EDWIN M. STANTON.

at Annapolis Junction for any of the New York, Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania troops who might arrive there. The suspense in the national capital was short.

On the 25th April the train came back to Washington filled and covered with *men*. As the train neared the station the uniform of the Seventh Regiment New York State Militia was recognized, and a loud cheer of wel-

come went up from my troops in the station I have never seen men more cordially welcomed than were those of the Seventh Regiment. The blockade was broken, and that gallant regiment were the first fruits of the opening of communications. The colonel and field officers and staff sprang from the cars. The companies were quickly formed, and the column marched in correct Seventh Regiment style up Pennsylvania Avenue to the President's mansion, where they gave a marching salute to the President. I mounted and galloped to headquarters to report the arrival to the general-in-chief, and arrange for a camping-ground for them. The old general said that this fine regiment must have a beautiful camping ground, and designated the country seat of Mr. William Stone, far out on Fourteenth Street, which the owner had patriotically offered to place at General Scott's disposal for such a purpose.

From that day on, each train sent out came back to us laden with volunteers from the Northern cities, and Washington was soon too strong for attack by any force which its enemies could then send against it.



FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, *June 3, 1885*

BEGINNINGS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

Writing twenty years after the close of the disastrous effort of the Southern states to form a political federation and government more to their liking and more in sympathy with their special industrial interests than the Southern people had come to regard that of the United States, I am of the belief that I can usefully relate certain events of the epoch of 1860-65, in which I was either a participant or a witness, or of which I was specially made cognizant at the time. I also believe that I can write in the main unswayed by personal and political feelings, and free from the illusions of personal or sectional likes or dislikes.

I am incited to the undertaking, moreover, by the feeling that the souvenirs even of so unfortunate a part of their past history are not without many consolations to the people of the conquered states for what of misfortune and disaster befell them, including that long period of humiliation to which they were subjected after the war, known as that of political reconstruction: from which, happily for the whole country, they have wholly emerged without hazard of any future sectional contests or struggles other than that healthy competition between the various industrial interests naturally to be expected in so vast an empire as that of the United States.

Entirely satisfied myself that, while the great war of the sections of 1861-1865 fortunately failed to disrupt the Union, it should have ended in the summary extinction of servile labor or negro slavery in the country—I shall none the less carefully and dutifully narrate in the course of the following pages, as matter that belongs to the truth of history, much that will be found running counter to the present general opinion in the South as well as in the North and West: that the war necessarily ended in the discomfiture of the Southern people, if for no other reason than that of the great numerical inferiority of their section. On the contrary, no people fighting for independence or another polity ever had such an opportunity for gaining their object despite numerical odds, as the people of the Southern States had, at least as late as the battle of Gettysburg.

With state governments essentially older than the Federal Constitution, they started the Secession movement with nearly their full share of the educated military men of the national army, as well as with a small nucleus of an effective army in their militia and volunteer organizations,

and a large number of men educated at state military schools. The whole seceding section was exceptionally rich in food and other resources, and was largely dowered with defensive geographical features, together with a system of completed railways which intensified the value to the Southern armies of their thorough possession, from the outset, of the "interior lines"—that inestimable advantage in war. And last, but not the least potent part of their equipment for the enterprise, was a thorough unity of sentiment as to its justness—amounting to a heroic devotion and readiness for every sacrifice on the part of the whole Southern people.

I

After a service of eight years as an officer of the general staff of the army on the Pacific coast, on the 10th of November, 1860, I set out from San Francisco on the steamer *Sonora*, under orders for Washington. Among the passengers were Mr. Reverdy Johnson and Senator Judah P. Benjamin, returning home after a memorable display of their great legal and forensic abilities in a suit in which the large mining property known as the New Almaden, was the stake. Another senator recently elected from Oregon was of the company, the distinguished California advocate, Colonel Edward D. Baker, who had gone to and lived in Oregon barely long enough to qualify him for election, and who, therefore, in more recent times, would have been known as a "carpet-bagger." A Republican, his election had been effected by virtue of a political bargain between the anti-Lane Democrats* and Republicans of the legislature of Oregon. Another prominent, and, to me, most interesting fellow-passenger, was Frederic W. Lander, a man physically and mentally of marked individuality, who had acquired some celebrity as an explorer and builder of wagon-ways across the continent to the Pacific coast. Several brother officers were also returning eastward, and, altogether, the party was a most agreeable one with the exception of a rather obtrusive San Francisco local politician, one Dr. Rabe, a German, who had started post haste, it was said, for the East, for the purpose of securing the collectorship of San Francisco from an administration which was not to be installed for some four months ahead. He was not a pleasant fellow-traveler because of his bad manners in airing his extreme political opinions on all possible occasions; nor was he much less displeasing to Colonel Baker than to others of our party, although politically affiliated with him, for the senator was an accomplished man of the world, of charming social demeanor, as I had seen during my previous casual friendly intercourse with him in Oregon.

* General Lane was, at the time, Senator in Congress.

He was, however, of the class of Republicans since known as "Stalwarts;" not in favor of any compromise with the Southern states; in favor of the exertion, hereafter, in the government of the country, on the part of the North and West, of the whole controlling power given these sections by their numerical preponderance, to impose the dogmas of the Free-Soil party through Congressional enactments; a purpose expressed, however, always with much suavity of manner and of words.

Thus by the time the *Sonora* reached Acapulco, a Mexican port at which it had to touch, there had come to be a very decided division of the passengers on our good craft into two political parties more or less socially repellant.

The harbor of Acapulco, the finest of all havens on the whole Pacific coast, is completely land-locked, easy of access, and so deep that the largest ships may lie close to the lofty rocks which environ it on several sides—altogether most picturesque. Once a great depot of Spanish commerce with the East Indies, there great galleons resorted freighted with the luxuries of the East and carrying away the precious metals from the mines of Mexico; there, too, a great annual fair was held to which merchants came from all parts of Mexico, up to the time of the revolt of that country against Spanish authority. But from that high commercial estate the Acapulco of 1860 had altogether fallen away, for it was reduced to a mere straggling Mexican town of several thousand souls, scattered over the somewhat terrace-like hillsides that bound the eastern shore of the beautiful small bay in a crescent manner. As I had seen as much of the place and of its people eight years before as I cared to do, I staid aboard the *Sonora* while at anchor. Some of the passengers, however, went ashore, among them Colonel Baker, invited by Doctor Rabe, who lost no opportunity to curry favor with a senator who also enjoyed the distinction of having been, before migrating to the Pacific coast, the personal friend of the probably President-elect, Mr. Lincoln.

Late in the afternoon the captain made signal for the passengers ashore to come aboard, and among the last to return was the senator and his party. When at the ship's side, and about to quit the boat manned by three or four bandit-looking natives, Rabe became involved in a squabble with the padrone about the fare. At a gesture or word from their leader, the others pushed their yawl off from the steamer's side landward, and made a show of drawing the knives with which each one was garnished. As the boat was approaching from the shore, I had been drawn to the vessel's side, and Lieutenant Howard of the army, a Baltimorean, was with me—and we thus witnessed the altercation. Other passengers were also spec-

tators of it, chiefly, I may add, men in sympathy politically with Colonel Baker and Doctor Rabe, none of whom, however, at the menacing posture assumed by the Mexicans, and their apparent determination to carry Baker and Rabe back to the shore, stirred to hinder it. Neither Howard nor myself having any weapons, I cried out for a revolver and so did my young friend, and two in an instant were forthcoming—from what quarter I cannot now recall. Howard and myself each brought a pistol to bear upon the yawl's padrone and called upon him to return, which was sullenly done. Rabe now paid the fare, and he and Colonel Baker ascended to the deck of the *Sonora* with an alacrity that marked their pleasure at being rid of their recent unpleasant if picturesque gondoliers. That they had been relieved from their somewhat critical and altogether humiliating position entirely by two Southern men, to whom Rabe had made himself disagreeable by his open-mouthed sectionalism, had not escaped the notice and appreciation of Colonel Baker—as also that his own political associates had meanwhile looked idly or inertly on; and during the remainder of the voyage, and afterward in Washington, he lost no opportunity of being personally most gracious to me.

Resuming our voyage, as before, there was an unbroken period of delightful weather, with the loveliest nights imaginable; and more attractive company hardly could be brought together. Mr. Benjamin, I fancy, was at his very best. I had frequent long conversations with him. It was his first visit to the Pacific, and he had been greatly impressed and interested with what he had seen of the country and people. Professionally and pecuniarily the visit had been a success; his rich clients had shown him much attention and hospitality, and naturally he was highly pleased. So, we talked of the wondrous growth of that quarter of the country and of its marvelous resources, and also of the books we had recently found of most interest or most nutritious mentally; but, somehow, very little was said by either of us of a forecasting character of impending political affairs or events.*

* That the fast-gathering elements of the storm about to burst upon the country were not really seen at that time by Southern leading men, and therefore that those men could not have been plotting for years the disruption of the Union, is made apparent, it seems to me, by a brief paragraph of a private letter written by me October 29, 1861, to Mr. Benjamin, in answer to one from him of the 27th of October, namely: "You rightly say the events of the last six months seem all a dream. The most dreamlike thing in the world's history is the presence here in Fairfax County, in the month of October, twelve months from the time you were in San Francisco, of two hostile armies of formidable size such as now confront each other." (Page 929, *Rebellion Official Records*, Series I., Vol. V.) My words were called out by a reference in his note to our voyage together, and how little was then dreamed of the momentous drama about to be enacted.

I had daily conversations also with Mr. Reverdy Johnson, and now that a quarter of a century has elapsed since that time, I may, without impropriety, repeat his interesting judgment expressed to me one day, of the qualities of Mr. Benjamin as a lawyer. Admitting his great ability as an advocate, and his legal learning and high accomplishments, the great Maryland lawyer added: "But Mr. Benjamin is not really a safe legal adviser for a client, for the reason that after having received a retainer in a case, he seems unable to see any weakness in it, nor any strength on the side of the adversary. He is altogether too sanguine." These were almost Mr. Johnson's exact words, and afterwards I had cause to remember them because the justness of this *aperçu* of Benjamin's character was so strikingly illustrated by his sanguine and over-confident course as Secretary of State, Attorney General, and Secretary of War of the Confederate States. His whole official conduct in the Confederate Cabinet, exhibited precisely the traits ascribed to him as a lawyer by his astute brother of the law, on the deck of the *Sonora* on the Pacific Ocean.

Several days before our arrival at Panama we came in sight, as we had expected, of the steamer of the same line bound northward for the port of San Francisco, and which we knew must have news aboard from the Atlantic States of the result of the Presidential election. Soon thereafter the two ships came within hailing distance of each other. It was in the early afternoon—a bright, beautiful hour; the sea was nearly as smooth as a lakelet. Both vessels were stopped, our boat was lowered, swiftly manned, and sent for newspapers, which were deftly cast into it from the deck of the northern-bound steamer, and the two vessels resumed their voyage with a parting whistle. A good sized roll of New York newspapers had been brought to our captain, from which right speedily was gleaned the information, hardly unexpected to any one, that Mr. Lincoln had been elected President—with the immediate, startling, momentous consequence, however, that the Legislature of South Carolina had ordered the assembling of a "Sovereign Convention" with a view to the immediate secession of that state from the Federal Union!

Hardly had this intelligence been disseminated among the passengers, than there was an immediate division of them into two nearly equal parties. As usual, the aspirant to the Collectorship of San Francisco was loud-spoken and aggressive in his denunciations of the Southern people, and of their past and present courses; and so affluent in offensive language, as to what should be done by his party for their summary repression, that very soon some of the passengers of Southern origin, taking umbrage at the virulence of his words, began to gather menacingly. Of course Rabe had

his allies, and almost a mere spark would have kindled civil war that afternoon on the coast of Central America, on the comparatively narrow deck of the *Sonora*. Seeing the danger, and while very plainly informing Dr. Rabe of my opinion of the unbecomingness, on the part of one foreign-born, of such denunciation of the Southern people, I at the same time quietly advised Messrs. Baker and Harding* to put a stop to his mischievous tongue, else trouble would come of it, to the serious disadvantage of Doctor Rabe and those who affiliated with him, big and little. I also advised the Southern passengers to act with moderation, so long as sectional provocations were not made unbearable. Messrs. Baker and Harding had of course been very decided in their condemnation of the course of the South, but both agreed that Rabe must be led to be much less noisy. They had influence enough to silence him, and did so, otherwise I am satisfied there would have been a serious collision, or the first outbreak of the civil war, as it were, would have happened in the month of November, 1860, on the Pacific Ocean and not four months later at Fort Sumter.

That night Lander and myself sat up late, talking together. It was one of those indescribably delicious nights of the Southern Pacific, with the measureless concave vault of the heavens radiant above us with countless stars glowing as is wholly unknown here in the North. He had been born and educated in Massachusetts, where his family all resided except himself. As I have already said, he was a most interesting character, and I have never forgotten the intensity of feeling with which he spoke of the results or consequences of the election, the news of which had just reached us.

He said it "meant that no man would be permitted hereafter to live in the Northern states and remain a Democrat in party affiliations—such was the intolerant, over-bearing spirit incarnated in the fanatical Republican leaders, or men who would dominate in its councils—unless the Southern States, one and all, by immediate secession from the Union, brought the people of the North to their senses, or thus brought them to understand plainly and beyond peradventure, the consequences of giving the Government of the country into the hands of such fanatics and perilous demagogues."

"The Southern people," he declared, "have talked of secession so much that if they do not now secede there will be no limit to the aggressions of those men in the future, and the Democrats of the North will be virtually disfranchised, if not worse." All this, and much more, was said in vibrating tones that were full of conviction and of the passion that is born of it. "Should the South promptly secede," he continued, "thousands of the men

* Mr. Benjamin F. Harding of Oregon, who took his seat as senator from that State in 1862.

of the North and West will be with the South, not only in sympathy but bodily. I for one shall come," he said explicitly, "and it shall be with a thousand 'mountain men' at my back." These last words were literally as he uttered them. Afterwards in the course of the voyage he repeated essentially the same sentiments as to the course that the Southern states should pursue, and reasserted that they would have not only the moral but physical aid of the Democrats of the North, and so substantially that it would lead to an early re-establishment of the transiently broken Union upon a basis of mutual consideration, with an equitable adjustment of all troublesome questions such as would permanently eliminate all sources of future sectional disturbance.*

The voyage to Panama was concluded without further noteworthy incident, about the 24th of November—as also the transit of the Isthmus by railway. At Aspinwall the stanch steamer *Northern Light* was awaiting us. After a somewhat stormy and belated passage I was landed at New York about the 3d of December, eight years and about four months from the day I had set out from the same port for San Francisco. Of course the first object of greatest interest to me was the progress of the Secession movement, and the current newspapers were eagerly clutched and scanned for the news. Thus I soon learned that the Sovereign Convention called

* That this gentleman was thoroughly sincere in his utterances at the time, and serious in the expression of the course he intended to take in certain contingencies, I have never doubted. But like many other prominent Northern men, when the time came for action, that action was utterly inconsistent with previously announced convictions and determinations. He did, indeed, go to the South with a "thousand men" at his "back,"—but with the commission of a Federal general in his pocket, bearing date as early as July, 1861, and with the object of repressing that very secession from the Union which he had some eight months previously asseverated his purpose to aid, if attempted. He had tendered his services to General Scott as early as March, 1861, if not earlier, and had been employed on confidential service both in Texas and Florida for the prevention of the spread of the secession movement. He also served on the staff of General McClellan, in the Rich Mountain campaign, before his appointment to the grade of brigadier-general.

Frederic William Lander was born at Salem, Massachusetts, December 17, 1822. An élève of the celebrated Partridge Military Academy at Norwich, Vermont, he adopted the profession of civil engineering, which ultimately carried him into the service of the United States—first, in the survey of a railroad route to the Pacific coast, and subsequently, in 1858, as the superintendent of the construction of a wagon-way to California. In these services, as I have said, he made reputation in his profession and as a man of tried courage, energy and resources. He also acquired notoriety by his connection with the Potter Pryor difficulty, having been called upon to act as second to Mr. Potter, member of Congress from Wisconsin, in his contemplated duel with Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia—of which much-mooted incident he gave me a most interesting account, and of the course of certain politicians who sought to magnify it into a sectional issue. He died in Western Virginia on the 2d of March, 1862, from congestion of the brain, brought about, it is said, by his excessively hard service, resumed too soon after a severe wound in the leg received in a conflict at Edward's Ferry, in Loudon County, Virginia.

by the Legislature of South Carolina was to assemble within a fortnight. But so far as I could gather, while there was menace throughout the Cotton states of a purpose to follow whatsoever course South Carolina might finally decide upon, here in New York there seemed really no serious general idea that the country was on the actual verge of disunion. However, at the same time I found a strong sentiment in this quarter that, should the Southern states really withdraw from the Union, the true policy for New York City would be to detach itself from either section and become a "Free City," occupying a somewhat similar relation to the other states of the sundered Union, that several cities, such as Hamburg, held so long to Prussia and the other German states.

It was about the 8th of December that I reached Washington, and reporting at the office of the Third Auditor of the Treasury, took occasion to inform him of my belief that the early secession of all of the Southern states was inevitable, and therefore I had to beg the early adjustment of my heavy accounts with the Treasury, which, reaching back as far as 1848, embraced large transactions connected with the Mexican war. I asked this, as I further stated, because it was my purpose to resign from the army so soon as Virginia should secede—or sooner, even, should my services be called for in the repression of any one of the Southern states.

Mr. Atkinson, with whom I had had for years an official correspondence, which had given me great respect for his character, promised that every effort should be made to settle my account, but expressed the warmest hopes, or indeed belief, that so satisfactory a compromise would be made as must avert disunion. He also, with much good feeling, attempted to show me that, in any event, brought up as a servant of the Union from boyhood, as I had been, I should not suffer such a thought to enter my brain as that of quitting its service at such a time. Of course I answered that while I could but regard as most deplorable the rending in twain of the fair, broad territory of the United States with its unparalleled resources for the building up of the happiest and most powerful empire that had ever been known on the earth, yet under no possible circumstances could I remain—in peace no more than during war—in the service of the Union that no longer included the state of Virginia, one of whose quota to the military service I was. As for bearing arms against my father and brothers, and all the kindred that I had, the idea was simply out of the question.

Congress had now been in session a month, with the exception of the senators from South Carolina, who, taking it as a foregone conclusion that their state would secede, had resigned their seats, and no successors had

been elected or appointed. Meanwhile, the Legislature of that state had not only convened an organic convention for the 17th of December, 1860, as I have already said, but had also passed laws looking to the organization of a considerable military force, and had made the requisite appropriations for such an organization as well as for the approaching contingency of a down-right resumption of the sovereignty of their state. Military companies were being enrolled in the cities, towns and rural districts of South Carolina. Drills and parades followed; arms and munitions of war were being provided, and evidently the people of that state, resolutely bent on quitting the Union, were preparing stoutly and intelligently for the most serious consequences of that step. Nevertheless, so far as I could discern from my most anxious survey of the situation, there was the scantiest possible conception at Washington, at the time, among the public men either of the Southern or Northern states there assembled, of the grave fact that an actual rupture of the Union was not to be averted!

My range of association and of inquiry was a wide one. It embraced senators and members of the House from the two Pacific Coast states, as also from each of the other sections of the Union, but I could find nowhere any evidence of the existence among the public men of the planting states, at Washington, of an organized plan for the dissolution of the Union, such as the people of South Carolina alone had resolutely contemplated even in anticipation of the election of Mr. Lincoln as the necessary consequence of the division of the Democratic party upon the radical question of "Squatter Sovereignty" in the Territories. In fact abundant proof was visible that no such plan was on foot at the time, much less a conspiracy to that end ante-dating the election of Mr. Lincoln—as has been so persistently maintained thus far by Northern writers of all grades, and adopted without honest historical examination by such alien writers as the Comte de Paris. Conclusive testimony to this fact would seem to be afforded in the action of a conference of the members of Congress from Mississippi, at Jackson, their state capital, called by the Governor of the State, as they were about to proceed to Washington in November, 1860. The chief question considered at that conference was: "Shall Mississippi, as soon as her convention can meet, pass an ordinance of Secession, thus placing herself by the side of South Carolina, regardless of the action of other states; or shall she endeavor to hold South Carolina in check, and delay action herself until other states can get ready, through their conventions, to unite with them, and then, on a given day and at a given hour, by concert of action, all the states willing to do so, secede in a body?" Mr. Davis being present, strenuously opposed a resort

to secession so long as hope of a peaceable solution of the controversy could be possibly entertained, and went so far in that direction as to lead to the belief with some that he was counseling delay with the object of ultimately averting the secession of the state.* The conclusion reached, however, was that Mississippi should not endeavor to delay separate state action, as Mr. Davis had advised; when of course he declared that he should abide by whatsoever a sovereign convention of the people of Mississippi should decide upon. Thereupon he set out for Washington to take his seat in the Senate. Mr. Davis was met at the railway station by Mr. Jacob Thompson—also a citizen of Mississippi, the Secretary of the Interior of Mr. Buchanan—and carried at once to the White House. There in strict conformity with his views just urged in the Jackson conference, the Mississippi Senator gave assurance to the President, for whose statesmanship and good intentions he had the greatest respect, that he would urge moderation on the part of his section, and the exhaustion of all measures for accommodation, at least as late as the 4th of March, 1861.† He was, at the same time, shown the rough draft of the message prepared to be delivered at the coming meeting of Congress, and suggested some modifications that were accepted for the time but subsequently materially departed from.

The after course of Senator Davis accorded strictly with this agreement, for it was logical with his whole public life that he should be reluctant to venture a movement which made compromise under the Union impossible—disunion inevitable. His whole antecedent course as a public man shows him to have been, whether in the Cabinet or Congress, keenly alive to the value of great national establishments; as always seeking to foster them and to widen their scope of usefulness. His ambition as well as his education had naturally led him to look forward to that large political sphere which should embrace not a section, but the whole Union, and it is historical that he had better grounded hopes of such preferment than any Southern statesman of the time.‡

* See notes of that Conference made by Hon. O. R. Singleton, pages 58, 59, vol. i., Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*.

† My authority for this was Mr. Thompson, when associated with me on the staff of General Beauregard in April and May, 1862, at Corinth, Mississippi.

‡ Jefferson Davis, it is to be remembered, was graduated at the United States Military Academy at West Point, in 1828. Entering the army, he served as a subaltern both in the Infantry and Cavalry—a part of the time as the Adjutant of his regiment—until 1835, when he resigned and betook himself to civil life as a planter in Mississippi. His first appearance on the stage of Federal politics was in 1845—ten years after his resignation from the army—as a member of the House of Representatives. At the outbreak of the war with Mexico, in 1846, he resigned from

The fact is, the people of the cotton-planting states had gone far ahead of those of their public men who generally had so long represented them at Washington as to be one and all possessed with strong personal attachments for the life and associations at the Federal Capital, which they were accordingly loath to abdicate. Even the public men of South Carolina were not exceptions to the general rule. The constituencies of these gentlemen, ahead of their representatives, had gradually, with remarkable unanimity, reached the settled conviction that the dissolution of the Union was the only way by which to escape from an inexorably organized system of legislation that fostered or protected the industrial interests of the Eastern and Middle Atlantic States to the great detriment of their own sectional interests, coupled with other inequalities in relation to the national territory as were fraught with the ultimate political and social, monetary and industrial subordination of the Southern to the Northern states.

On the 17th of December the Organic Convention of the state of South Carolina met at Columbia, where, as it happened, there was so much local sickness that it was at once adjourned to reassemble at Charleston. There, at quarter-past one o'clock P. M., on the 20th of December, 1860, that convention, composed of the most eminent and conservative citizens of the State, passed unanimously what was entitled: "An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the state of South Carolina and the other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America." That pregnant paper in words and figures ran as follows:

"We, the people of the state of South Carolina, in convention assembled,

Congress, went home to Mississippi, raised a regiment of volunteer rifles—which under his command won signal distinction at Monterey and Buena Vista. In 1847, tendered the commission of brigadier-general by President Polk, he declined it, and soon after re-entered the political career, as Senator from Mississippi. This position he held until the State seceded in 1861, with the exception of the four years between March 4, 1853, and March 3, 1857, during which he was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Pierce. In the Senate, Mr. Davis rose to high influence, which he exercised effectively as the watchful friend both of the Military Academy and of the Coast Survey, and was able repeatedly to ward off injurious legislation as well as to secure that which added materially to the usefulness of two public establishments which rendered incalculably valuable services to the Union, during the war for its life. While in the Cabinet, it was Mr. Davis who sent to the Crimea a commission of three officers—including General McClellan, then a cavalry captain—to study and report upon the state of the science of war and the organization and condition of European armies. Moreover, solely by the efforts and influence with Congress of Mr. Davis, two regiments of Infantry and two of Cavalry were added to the regular army, which proved specially efficient and valuable during the war. Therefore it is time that honest minds should look judicially into and recognize the fact that such a public career is wholly incompatible with the popular idea that Mr. Davis was the very incarnation of the ideas, aims and inspirations which induced the Southern people to secede in 1861—the arch-conspirator who deeply plotted, craftily contrived and resolutely inaugurated that movement.

bled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this state ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

Four days later, there emanated from the same source an elaborate "Declaration of Causes" which had led the people of the state to adventure so summary and momentous a remedy for the complicated ills to which, they asseverated, the Federal Union habitually subjected them.

Even so supremely impressive an act as this formal withdrawal of one of the original states from the Federal system, coupled with immediate extinction of all Federal official functions within her limits, and duly followed by a demand for the evacuation of the forts in the harbor of Charleston by the troops of the United States—even this did not seem to arouse at Washington, or to the northward of South Carolina, the least adequate sense of the fact that as it is habitually but the first step which costs, the secession of at least eleven if not fourteen of the states from the Union, was of the least likelihood, or that South Carolina would not be as easily brought back into the Federal fold as she was during the Presidency of Andrew Jackson, when she had attempted to nullify certain laws of Congress, which her people regarded unconstitutional and prejudicial to her industrial interests.

It is true that on the 5th of January, 1861, or about fifteen days after the secession of South Carolina, there was a meeting of twelve senators from seven of the Cotton states, which resulted in a series of resolutions to the effect that in the "opinion" of that conference each of their states should secede as soon as may be, and that provision should be made for a "convention to organize a confederacy of the seceding states at Montgomery, Alabama, not later than the 15th of February."* But it is equally true that these same senators and other members of Congress from the Southern states were assiduously counseling against any overt acts with reference to the Federal fortresses calculated to provoke a hostile collision with the National troops, which all were evidently desirous of avoiding, if possible, so as not to make ultimate accommodation impossible. Moreover, that very Senatorial conference was essentially the offspring of home influences and pressure, rather than the source of an influence which

* See Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, vol. i., page 204.

accelerated the secession of a single state, one hour, as may be seen from abundant evidence. Their constituents in Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama, for example, had already called sovereign conventions as they were designated, and that of Mississippi, contrary to the judgment and advice of Mr. Davis, as early as the 9th of January, 1861, had dissolved political relations with the United States; Florida did likewise the day after, and Alabama the day following the secession of Florida. On the 18th of January the roll of seceded states was increased by the concurrence of Georgia, the most important state in the movement, and Louisiana, on the 26th of the same month, raised the number to six immediately contiguous states, embracing, in the aggregate, 290,500 square miles of territory, with a population of 5,000,000 souls,* and the industrial products of which had constituted the largest part of the export trade of the United States.† These six states, acting through their several conventions, appointed delegates to a congress to be assembled on the 4th of February, 1861, at Montgomery, Alabama, for the formation of a new government in place of the one just renounced. Notwithstanding that the several constituencies of the members of Congress from Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida had all formally turned their backs upon the Union by the 11th of January, as was well known to those gentlemen, including Mr. Davis and by his counsel, they did not sunder their own official relations with the Federal Government until the 21st of January. This may only be rationally accounted for on one or the other of two suppositions: either that they had not altogether given up the belief that an adjustment might yet be effected which their states could accept, or, as has been alleged in some jaundiced quarters, they "kept their seats in Congress in order to be able to paralyze its action, forming at the same time, a center whence they issued directions to their friends in the South to complete *the dismemberment* of the Republic."‡ That the first of these motives was the real inspiration of their action would seem substantiated beyond intelligent doubt by unquestionable contemporaneous documents. Upon this point may be adduced the tenor of a note addressed on the 15th of January, 1861, by Messrs. Davis and

* Of this population about 2,750,000 were white, and 2,250,000 colored.

† The six states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina aggregately produced 4,090,605 of the 5,350,000 bales of cotton grown in the United States during the year 1860.

‡ See History of the Civil War, by the Comte de Paris, vol. i, pages 122 and 125—English translation—a remarkable, laboriously woven tissue of errors of statement and errors of judgment, with many ridiculous blunders in American political history, and much of stale fanciful matter which, current during the heat of the war, has long ago been discredited by American writers of any standing.

Wigfall, Mallory and Benjamin, with six other senators from the states in question, to Mr. Isaac W. Hayne, Envoy of the state of South Carolina to the President, urging such a course on the part of South Carolina regarding the forts and their garrisons in the harbor of Charleston as should avoid the possibility of precipitating a hostile conflict of authority of the National with state authority. Read between the lines, the whole series of notes and speeches of the members of the Cotton states up to the moment of their final abdication of their seats, throughout they effuse with an earnest desire for an ultimately rehabilitated Union of all the states, divested of all those sources of mortal dissatisfaction conscientiously so regarded by the Southern people whether with or without just grounds.

Meanwhile, assuredly, no leading public man of the Republican party at Washington, either in his utterances, his action, or his demeanor, manifested the least appreciation of the fact that the country was upon the very edge of the greatest and bloodiest war of modern times, one that would call forth from all the peaceful avocations of life millions of men and set them to slaughtering each other, from the Potomac almost to the Rio Grande, and from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, at a cost of three thousand millions of dollars, beside the incalculable loss entailed by the vast destruction of property. Nor, for that matter, did the Democrats from the North and Northwest, with possibly the exception of Senator Pugh of Ohio, attest in anyway that they comprehended the nearness of those portentous events with which the hours were weighted. Mr. Pugh addressed the Senate in a speech of lofty and fervid eloquence that did honor to his head as a statesman in the immediate presence of the greatest crisis of human history, to his heart as a man looking presciently into a near future of his country filled with carnage and waste of its vast resources in a prolonged war, which a little statesmanship and proper fraternal feeling might have averted. That speech I heard and was deeply impressed with the manner of the orator and with the spirit of conviction which breathed in every word he uttered; I was also, however, greatly discouraged by the sardonic sneers which distorted the features of more than one of his fellow senators as he sought to evoke the spirit of reconciliation.

As I have already said, the state of South Carolina having declared her political relations with the United States at an end—as a natural incident to that event, she next claimed the retrocession of the four military works erected for the defense of Charleston harbor. Of these the chief in importance was Fort Sumter, a lofty, pentagonal brick fortress constructed for an armament of one hundred and forty pieces. Planted

at the very southern edge of the harbor channel, upon a shoal three miles seaward from Charleston, it rose sixty feet above the water, with its guns arranged in three tiers, the first nearly on a level with the water, and the last disposed *en barbette* upon the *terre-plein* of the work—that is, uncovered except by the parapet—the others being casemated. Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, dominated the entrance on the northern side of the channel, nearer the immediate harbor's mouth than Fort Sumter, from which it was distant less than a mile, while about twenty-four hundred yards from the northern end of Morris Island, directly across the entrance. Fort Johnston, built on James Island nearly west from Fort Sumter, was an old, abandoned, valueless work at the time; and Castle Pinckney, an equally old-fashioned structure, was of little military value. All bore names redolent of the Revolutionary history of South Carolina. However, but one of the four, Fort Moultrie, standing on the very ground made famous by its intrepid defense in 1777 by Colonel Moultrie and his handful of devoted Carolinians, was garrisoned by United States troops at the moment of secession, and that garrison did not exceed seventy non-commissioned officers and privates, with nine officers, line and staff. Their commander was Major Robert Anderson, one of the most accomplished officers of the American army—and high in the confidence of General Scott, on whose staff he had formerly served. Fort Sumter, in the hands of the Engineer Corps, however, was being rapidly fitted by a large body of hired laborers and mechanics, under the special direction of Captain John G. Foster,* for military occupation. Apprehending that his petty force was not to be re-enforced, and fully aware that it was wholly insufficient to hold such a work as Fort Moultrie should the authorities of South Carolina send against him a body of troops which could be readily mustered in Charleston for such an enterprise, Major Anderson suffered the fancy to enter his mind that an effort was about being made to carry that work by a *coup de main*, notwithstanding such a purpose had been distinctly disclaimed in the proper quarters. He ignored the vital facts that while his little command might be free from risk of capture by a mere *coup de main* if transferred across the channel to Fort Sumter, on the other hand, he might be far more easily re-enforced and provisioned subsequently at Fort Moultrie than would be possible in the event he gave up Moultrie for Sumter.†

* Subsequently Major General.

† A relieving force, with ample supplies, might have been easily landed from transports upon the northeastern extremity of Sullivan's Island and forced its way into Moultrie. Sumter was only to be reached by water and the entrance to it could only be effected through a portal commanded from James Island.

Hence, it seems to me, so cool and intelligent a soldier as Major Anderson ought to have seen that no military, moral or political advantage was to be gained in exchanging the risk of capture by surprise at Fort Moultrie for an early enforced surrender in Fort Sumter from starvation. But he thought otherwise, and with consummate skill on the night of the 26th of December, 1860, effected the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and ensconced its garrison in the impregnable stronghold, as he hoped, of Fort Sumter. At the same time the guns in Moultrie were carefully spiked, carriages destroyed by fire and otherwise, and its flag-staff felled to the ground.

That same night, three commissioners dispatched by the authority of South Carolina, reached Washington to open negotiations with the government there for the retrocession of the forts and the transfer of the light-houses upon the coast of the state; and on the other hand, to agree upon the share of the National Debt that should be apportioned to South Carolina for payment of principal and interest—a mission which was certainly incompatible with any design on the part of those in control of the revolutionary course of that state, to seize the forts by force. Until this transfer of the Federal troops from Moultrie to Sumter, no attempt had been made by the state authorities to seize upon the ungarrisoned works, such as Castle Pinckney and Fort Johnston; these, however, were at once taken into possession, as also Fort Moultrie, just evacuated, the Charleston Arsenal, Custom House and Post Office; and all were thereupon surmounted by the Palmetto flag of the state.

About the same time, the Hon. Francis W. Pickens, but recently elected, was installed as Governor of the state. He and his associates in political and military control of South Carolina saw the necessity for a prompt recourse to all its defensive resources, including the selection of the best positions on the islands environing the harbor and Fort Sumter, whereupon to erect earthworks from which to menace that work, and to command the harbor entrance so as to cut off re-enforcements—works executed with prodigious activity and not a little display of military aptitude.

Thomas Jordan

MILITARY AFFAIRS OF NEW YORK STATE IN 1861

SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND IMPRESSIONS

I

Little dreaming of the severe labors and grave responsibilities awaiting me in the near future, I accepted the appointment of adjutant-general of the state of New York and became chief of Governor Morgan's staff on the 1st of January, 1861. My taste for military affairs had been early developed, for not only had I been drilled in a military school prior to my course at Brown University and studies in the Albany Law School and in Europe, but I had at eighteen years of age commanded a company of Rhode Island cadets, when General Burnside was at the head of the militia of that state; and a year later had been named aid to the governor with the rank of Colonel, a position which placed me in close relation with the entire range of regimental and general officers. I had also taken an active part in the organization and direction of the Wide-awake movement in New York which swept the state for Abraham Lincoln in the autumn of 1860; and when subsequently asked to choose between a military and a civil station—the adjutant-generalship of New York, or a foreign appointment—my decision was quickly taken, and I entered upon my new and arduous duties with enthusiasm, notwithstanding that it was a most critical moment in the history of the country. Could I have foreseen, however, that within three months I should be called upon to take part in the organization of an army of New York men twice as large as the army of the United States at the time of my appointment, and in the midst of the greatest possible difficulties, I should have hesitated, chiefly because of my comparative inexperience and the fact that I was only twenty-three, the youngest man who had ever yet been adjutant-general—an office which had been held (from 1784 to 1793) by Colonel Nicholas Fish of revolutionary fame and the father of Hon. Hamilton Fish; by General Solomon Van Rensselaer of the War of 1812; by General William Paulding, member of the constitutional convention of 1821, also of Congress, and mayor of New York; by General William L. Marcy, recorder of the city, comptroller of the state, judge of the Supreme Court, United States senator, governor of the state thrice elected, Secretary of War and Secretary of State; and last, but by no means least, by General John A. Dix, who, hav-

ing taken part when a youth in the War of 1812, was called from one high post to another, in each of which he displayed an independence of character and statesmanship that placed him in the front rank among public men.

My purpose in this paper is to place upon record some few salient facts and figures concerning the military affairs of the state at this juncture, which came under my own personal observation and care, and to notice in passing some of the able men associated with me in a patriotic work upon which I look back at this time with pardonable pride and pleasure. In his annual message in 1861, Governor Morgan estimated the organized portion of the militia of the state at 19,435 officers and men. But it could not be said that all included in this number were "uniformed, armed and equipped, and in a creditable state of discipline." The unorganized militia were placed at 450,000—a liberal allowance, and one with which we had to deal some weeks later.

The governor, in concluding, remarked: "Though I trust it may never be necessary to employ this strong arm for any unfriendly purpose, yet 'a well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free people,' and to maintain such an organization is a part of the established policy of our country. The right of the people to keep and bear arms is one secured to them by the Federal Constitution. Although fully enjoying our liberties, it is the dictate of prudence that the military spirit of our state should continue to be fostered. Ever ready in the past to defend their institutions, we have, for the future, in our citizen soldiery, a pledge of domestic security and of safety from external violence."

There was nothing in the above to indicate that the greatest civil war of modern times was at hand; and yet so rapidly did events sweep onward to the denouement, that within twelve days Mr. Seward portrayed in the Senate of the United States the dangers of the hour, and declared that "Dissolution of the Union will arrest the majestic drama of national progress," and Mr. Lamar, twenty-four hours afterward, telegraphed to Jefferson Davis that although the secession ordinance in Mississippi had been carried, it was with great difficulty, and that the first *faux pas* would turn the powerful minority opposed to it into a triumphant majority.

Anxiously scrutinizing the signs of the times, both the governor and myself felt that vigorous measures should be speedily taken to place the state on a war footing. Accordingly, toward the end of January, a bill was introduced into the legislature to appropriate \$500,000 for the purpose of thoroughly equipping the Militia of the state. Upon the appearance of this bill in the senate a lively discussion ensued, in which Senator

Colvin, who three months later took a most patriotic stand, accused the Republican senators of desiring to arm the military for the purpose of forcing the Chicago platform upon the citizens of the South. This charge brought out the Republican senators, who all declared it to be a wise policy in time of peace to prepare for war, and insisted that the resolutions recently adopted by the legislature, tendering to the President the resources of the state to put down insurrection, meant the very thing which was in this bill. Having pledged the resources of the state, it was their duty to so prepare themselves that if the President should demand aid they could give him something substantial, and not comparatively worthless material. While this discussion was proceeding an incident occurred at Albany which illustrated the excitement of the moment. One hundred citizens of the capital petitioned Mayor Thacher to prevent the meeting of abolitionists which was about to take place. The mayor, who was a Democrat, very wisely replied that he had neither the authority nor the inclination to interrupt freedom of speech, that he had no fear of riot in the orderly city of Albany, and that the best way to treat the abolitionists was to let them severely alone.

After having given this sensible advice, the mayor upon consultation was informed that in case the police proved unable to cope with the situation, the military authorities would come to his aid. On the evening in question I went with the mayor to Association Hall, and admired the judgment and courage which he displayed amidst great popular feeling. He succeeded in preventing any violence, but had it not been for his presence with a large police force, Frederick Douglass would have been lynched.

The excitement of electing a successor to Mr. Seward in the United States Senate, was added to the other important events, and the contest, in which Mr. Evarts and Mr. Greeley were in the beginning most prominently engaged, resulted in the selection of Judge Ira Harris. Mr. Greeley and Judge Harris have long since gone to the grave with the honors of noble careers, while Mr. Evarts has just been elected to the high office which he would have dignified and adorned a quarter of a century ago, but which seems now a still more fitting crown to a long career of the highest forensic triumphs, and of the most solid patriotic achievements.

The bill appropriating half a million for arms passed the Senate on the 7th February and was taken up the next day in the House, at which time, a correspondent ridiculing the measure, said: "A person would think that the National Capital had already been taken and that a monster army was en route to take New York." Yet the very next day six seceding states—

South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, "organized an independent government, adopted a constitution, and elected a President and Vice-President. The *convention consummated this greatest event of the age* five days after its first sitting."

With a rebel government actually established at Montgomery, it seemed indeed time to take the most prompt and decided steps to assure the effective assistance of New York to the Government of the United States. Yet at this most critical moment a great metropolitan daily gave utterance to these sentiments: "There is an atrocious conspiracy to force the people into a bloody intestine strife, and the governor of this State has been aiding and abetting the design. He has played into the hands of the fanatics who contemplate servile insurrection at the South as the results of Northern invasion. He first offered the militia to subdue the Southern States—an offer which far exceeds his legislative (*sic*) power. He next endorsed, if he did not direct, the seizure of the private and public property of citizens of Georgia; and the natural consequence was that the Governor of Georgia retaliated by seizing our ships. The authorities of the State of New York were clearly the aggressors. And it now becomes the duty of the citizens of New York, and especially of the merchants, to come forward and repudiate the outrage that has been committed in this great commercial city by the authority of Governor Morgan—to make him and his party distinctly understand that they will not be permitted to trample on the Constitution and the laws—that they cannot make the inhabitants of this metropolis the instruments of their nefarious plot, or drag them into collision with their Southern brothers. This city has a greater stake at issue than all the rest of the State. . . . the time has come for prompt action, and the people must now arise in their might if they would save themselves and the country from the horrors of civil war. Armed preparations are being everywhere made in the North. In this State a bill *appropriating half a million of dollars* for war has passed the Senate by a strictly Republican vote. The whole South is arming and preparing for the struggle. Not a moment, therefore, is to be lost by the commercial classes of New York in holding a great public meeting to denounce all appeals to 'the God of Battles;' and as a *separation of the States is beyond human control*, to pronounce in favor of the recognition of their independence, a fair division of the territory and other public property, a just apportionment of the public debt, and a treaty of peace and amity between the two confederacies, regulating their commerce, and a treaty offensive and defensive against all the world. This is the great question of the hour."

This leading article (the italics are mine) was accompanied by correspondence shrewdly calculated to defeat the military bill, which was still pending in the Senate. As a natural result of this and similar efforts the bill was thrust aside on the 15th of February, and was not again called up until the news suddenly flashed over the wires that Fort Sumter had been summoned to surrender. Two precious months had been lost, because the wise policy of the state military authorities had been ignored. We shall presently see in what manner both the state and Federal governments suffered on account of this unjustifiable course.

On the 11th February it was telegraphed that Mr. Lincoln had set out from Springfield on his way to Washington, accompanied by the heartfelt wishes and prayers of a great concourse of people who were gathered to bid him God speed. Upon the reception of this news I was selected by the governor as chairman of a Military commission to proceed to Buffalo to meet the President elect and escort him to Albany. My associates were Benjamin Welsh, Jr., commissary-general; William Ayrault Jackson, inspector-general; Cuyler Van Vechten, quarter-master-general, and Colonel E. D. Morgan, Jr., aid-de-camp.

I shall never forget the first impression made upon me by Mr. Lincoln. He had long been a familiar abstraction to my mind, and I had formed an idea of him as we form an idea of a city or a country which we have never seen. In such cases one is almost sure to be wrong and the exceptions merely prove the rule. Mr. Lincoln, as I have said, had long been in my thoughts, for as early as 1859 some of his friends had conferred with friends of my father with the idea of nominating the late chief justice of Pennsylvania for President with Mr. Lincoln for Vice-President. Subsequent political events had changed the combination, but the original intention led to a warm friendship between the two statesmen, so that when Mr. Lincoln was nominated, my father commissioned the famous miniaturist Mr. J. Henry Brown, to go to Springfield and paint for him a likeness of his friend. Mr. Brown soon returned to Philadelphia with the first portrait ever painted of Mr. Lincoln, which was immediately engraved through chief justice Read's directions by Samuel Sartain, and this admirable print did much toward promoting the election of Mr. Lincoln. Some years afterward my father was dining at the White House when Mrs. Lincoln said: "Judge, the portrait you ordered painted of Mr. Lincoln is the best ever made of my husband. I often wish it were mine."

"It is entirely at your service, Madam."

"When will you send it to me, Judge?"

"As soon as I reach home, Madam."

In consequence of this promise my father gave the miniature to Mrs. Lincoln, greatly to his regret, it must be confessed, for it would have filled a niche in his library by the side of one of President Andrew Jackson, also painted from life for my father, and another of President Washington, painted for his grandfather. After the assassination of Mr. Lincoln we lost sight of his miniature, and both my father and myself sought in vain to ascertain its whereabouts. Many years afterward I was sitting in my private office in the Consulate General at Paris, when Robert Lincoln entered unannounced, and after hearty greetings, suddenly seeing the engraving of his father above my head, exclaimed: "Oh! I am glad to see that, I have the original." This miniature represented a comparatively youthful, unlined, clean-shaven face, lacking some of the striking characteristics which subsequent trials developed.

The astonishment and dismay with which I was filled when I first saw Mr. Lincoln, were partly occasioned by the remarkable change which had taken place in his personal appearance since the above portrait was painted. His face was now covered with the rough beginnings of a beard, while his prominent cheek bones were exaggerated by the fatigues of travel and the unremitting mental strain. Instinctively I thought: "Is this the man I have been working day and night for the last six months to elect?" I must frankly confess that disappointment, chagrin and doubt filled my mind when we embarked on the special train for Albany. Shortly after our departure, however, Mr. Lincoln called me to a seat by his side, and, after particular inquiries about my father, and characteristic recognition of my services during the Electoral campaign, he began to enlarge upon the gravity of his position, the responsibilities pressing upon him, and the waves which seemed rising in his path. As he talked his great soul looked out at me through his wonderful eyes, and I found myself drawn toward him by a sympathy which was as natural as it was spontaneous and profound. He spoke of the South with compassion and sorrow. He said that God's arm was strong and that he looked to His hand for guidance. That the nation had reached the entrance to a broad and a narrow way. The first was the easiest but it led to destruction. For his own part he would stick to the latter, which he believed to be the one which, under the direction of the Almighty, would lead us out of the woods.

Mrs. Lincoln was calm and cheerful. Her two younger children occupied much of her attention, but she found time to mingle in general conversation and to say many agreeable things. "Little Bob," as he was then called, was the life of the party, and his boyish pranks called fleeting smiles to his father's somewhat sad face.

Major, afterward General David Hunter, had the misfortune to have his shoulder dislocated by the pressure of the crowd at Buffalo, which, in spite of all precautions, broke through the ranks of the police and the soldiery, and well-nigh overwhelmed, with their boisterous welcome, the entire Presidential party. Looking at Hunter's arm in a sling, Colonel Ward Lamon remarked: "Well, Major! if you had had the good sense to stick close to me, you would not have met with that ugly accident. Yesterday the crowd at Pittsburg were hemming us in on all sides, eager to catch a glimpse of the President, and the situation was becoming dangerous, when I seized Mr. Lincoln by the arm, and drawing my bowie-knife, and waving it around me in a circle, cried, 'Just smell of that!'" Suiting the action to the word the Colonel snatched at a tow string around his neck and quickly brought to light one of the most formidable knives it has been my pleasure to encounter in a somewhat wide experience in different parts of the world. There is no doubt that Mr. Lincoln owed his freedom from bodily harm, on that and some other occasions, to the quickness and courage of his stanch friend Ward Lamon. General, then Colonel Sumner, was also in the suite. The subsequent services of Generals Hunter and Sumner and the latter's glorious death are household traditions throughout the land. In mentioning the former distinguished officer it recalls the curious fact that of all those who accompanied Mr. Lincoln in February, 1861, to Albany, only three were with his body when it reached the latter Capital on the 25th April, 1865, viz.: General Hunter, Colonel Lamon, and myself.

Another notable figure was Mr. N. B. Judd, of Illinois, an intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln, who had been warmly pressed for a place in the Cabinet, and was afterward named Minister to Berlin. He was a most intelligent and sympathetic supporter of the President and fully alive to the difficulties of the situation. The country is so familiar with Judge David Davis' striking appearance and interesting career that I can add nothing to the sum of knowledge concerning him, except to record the fact that he impressed me as entirely worthy of the high reputation which he has always enjoyed. Colonel Ellsworth, then of Zouave note, afterward so unfortunately and needlessly killed at Alexandria, was of the party; and when a few months later it became my painful duty to receive his body, and to conduct the ceremonies attending his lying in state in the Capitol at Albany, I remembered his lithe and nervous figure, his energetic and mobile features, and the exuberance of his diction in speaking of the prospects of strife and the precautions to be taken.

My meeting with John Hay was a source of great pleasure to me, for we had been classmates at Brown University, where his attractive face,

winning manners and brilliant intellect had made him a universal favorite. At seventeen he wrote a play full of promise, which had a deserved success. His slight and graceful frame, his ruddy countenance, his fine eyes and pleasing voice, accentuated the charms of an active and original mind. There was a thread of melancholy blending with a thread of humor in the woof of his being which found a ready response in the heart of Abraham Lincoln, who was as proud of the handsome youth as if he had been his father. When we remember what Colonel Hay accomplished during the war, that he has since distinguished himself as a diplomatist at Paris, Madrid, Vienna and Washington, and that in journalism and literature the author of "Little Breeches" has achieved a wide renown, we must confess that the promise of boyhood has already been kept. But instinctively we look forward to still higher achievements in one so thoroughly equipped and who is still in the vigor of life.

Mr. Nicolay, at this time, had not the advantage of his subsequent wide experience of men and affairs, but one already discerned in him those qualities of caution, judgment and quickness which made him an invaluable aid to Mr. Lincoln in the most trying moments of the war. On the day that Mr. Lincoln reached Buffalo, Jefferson Davis arrived at Montgomery from Mississippi, after "a continuous ovation." He was received with the wildest enthusiasm at the rebel capital, and in a speech at the railway station made use of the following unequivocal language: "The time of compromises is past, and we are now determined to maintain our position, and make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel."

The inability to obtain pecuniary assistance from the state for the efficient development of the Militia forces now rendered it the more essential to foster the contingent already on foot. In pursuance of this idea, by Special Orders 15, from my office, General Sandford was directed to parade the First Division on Washington's Birthday, and Governor Morgan and Staff repaired to New York to take part in the ceremonies of the day. The papers of the 23d of February stated that the Division was reviewed on Fourteenth Street the previous afternoon by the governor and adjutant-general, Captain Otto having early in the day reported himself and troop for escort duty to the adjutant-general at the Metropolitan Hotel. After a long march, in the midst of great enthusiasm, the head of the military column reached the East Gate of the City Park, and the governor entered that inclosure and rode up to a position in the center of the front of the City Hall, where he and his staff dismounted and were received by Mayor Wood and the members of both branches of the City Councils, and where

both parties prepared themselves to receive the marching salute. Nearly five thousand men were in line, and as they passed five hundred guns thundered from the Battery.

I can see now the tall, fine figure of Mayor Wood standing next to the Governor, clad in black frock-coat and trousers, with a high collar framing his handsome and vigorous face. To call the roll of all the brave men who filed past us that day would be to name many who afterward fought and many even who afterward died in the cause of their country.

With a view to stimulating still further the zeal of the troops I departed from the usual rule, and on the 26th of February appointed a special commission to prepare the annual course of instruction. In this were included officers who afterward won national renown—such as Generals Charles W. Sandford, H. B. Duryea, John Ewen, Wm. Hall, Charles Yates, L. B. Sloan, Colonels Henry W. Slocum, Marshall Lefferts, Edward Hincken, S. Brooke Postley, T. C. Devin, E. Le Gal, Jos. C. Pinckney, Daniel Butterfield, Abel Smith, George W. Pratt, Major H. P. Hubbell, Captains Varian, Egbert L. Viele and James Brackett; a distinguished list in view of subsequent events.

As the result of unwearied exertions, and of constant arguments showing the necessity of immediately placing the state on a war footing, I succeeded in obtaining the insertion in the Supply Bill of the two following important items: For regulations, \$500. For Scott's tactics, \$500. And as I have already remarked, it was not until the news was telegraphed from Fort Sumter of the summons to surrender, that the Rip Van Winkles awakened from their slumbers and called the \$500,000 Military Bill from the table. This was on Friday, the 12th of April. The next day the bombardment of Fort Sumter created the utmost excitement at Albany. The members and their friends were assembled in groups at the hotels discussing the probable result, and the streets were thronged with people speculating over the fate of Major Anderson. A correspondent writing on the evening of the same day said, "The war spirit is in the ascendancy and all rejoice over the fact that the Southerners commenced the fight. I hear but one expression from Democrats as well as Republicans, and that is not to yield an inch now that war has commenced. Whilst it is deeply deplored that we have drifted into civil war, no one now hesitates what to do."

And yet, although the \$500,000 bill was finally passed on Saturday, the 13th of April, its terms were such as to hamper the military authorities at every step. An unwieldy Military Board for instance was created, consisting of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller,

treasurer, attorney-general, state engineer and surveyor: and the money was not to be used unless the parties named should consider it necessary for the public defense. Even with these restrictions the comment was made that "if the national government should get up a little brush, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars will be taken from the State treasury whether it is needed or not!" As we shall see, the disbelief that it could be the intention to create seven governors instead of one, led to the issuing of a vigorous order calling for volunteers, which I was obliged eventually to alter, to meet the views of the Military Board.

The surrender and evacuation of Fort Sumter! was the announcement which met every anxious eye at Albany on Sunday morning.

At the call of the governor, a meeting of the state officers was held at an early hour in the Executive Chamber, and it was decided to tender immediately thirty thousand troops to the United States Government. Another meeting took place in the afternoon, which was attended by the Military and Finance committees of both houses. After talking over national affairs at much length a Committee was appointed, consisting of the adjutant-general, the attorney-general and two others, to draft a bill for the enrollment of thirty thousand men, and providing for the laying of a two mill tax, or so much thereof as might be necessary for the purpose—the bill to be introduced into the Assembly on the morrow, with an appropriate message from the governor. The Democrats withheld their approval for the present, saying that they desired to see the bill before committing themselves fully to it, but at the same time were in favor of tendering the militia. The excitement at Albany was at fever heat. Every public place was crowded, and the rotunda of the Capitol was filled with people discussing the war news. It was in the midst of this furore that the military bill appropriating three millions of dollars was framed in my office. Care was taken not to associate any one with the governor and to leave entire liberty to him and to place corresponding responsibility upon him—so as to avoid the defects of the previous act. The bill was taken from my office in this shape to be copied and printed during the night, but when it was laid upon the desks of the members on Monday morning it contained the names of several state officers to be associated with the governor in carrying out its provisions!

Mr. Pierce, Republican, Chairman of the Standing Committee in the House, stated that the committee had had the exigencies of the times under consideration, and had come to the conclusion that the peril that threatened our country demanded some further legislation. They had therefore unanimously decided to report by bill, and the bill reported was, almost

word for word, that in the hands of the members. After some opposition from Mr. Cozans, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, with Mr. Moore, of Brooklyn, in the chair. The first section having been read, Mr. Bingham, with great good sense, moved to strike out the lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller and attorney-general, and to leave the carrying out of the various provisions of the bill in the hands of the governor, the constitutional commander-in-chief of the military forces of the state. During the discussion which ensued, the private secretary of the governor was announced, with an executive message relating to the subject-matter, and which caused a profound sensation in the chamber and galleries. Nevertheless, Mr. Bingham's motion was lost. Mr., afterward General, Lewis Benedict, of Albany, then moved a substitute for the first section, providing that the governor shall call for volunteers whenever the President shall issue his requisition. This amendment was also lost. In the afternoon session Mr. Cozans moved to strike out the enacting clause. Mr. Chapman followed him, strongly in favor of the bill. He was sorry to see the young man from New York placing himself in this unfortunate manner upon record. This was a measure to preserve the country, and it was the duty of all to obey the call to preserve the national government from those seeking to destroy it.

Mr. Benedict, Republican, in a most eloquent speech warmly supported the measure. Mr. Townsend, Democrat, of Queens, while recording his vote in favor of the bill, wished to declare his utter abhorrence of the principles of the Republican party, which had brought the country to this condition of affairs. Mr. Wright, Republican, of Genesee, came handsomely to the rescue of the bill, and Mr. Cozans again opposed it in vigorous language. Mr. Fulton, Democrat, of Saratoga, on the contrary, declared that he would be recreant to his duty, to his party, and to his country if he failed to cast his vote in the affirmative. Mr. Bergen, Democrat, of Suffolk, agreed most heartily in this view. Mr. Barry also favored the bill, and Mr. Saxe made a strong speech on the same side, which created great enthusiasm, and Mr. Provost closed the debate by saying that he held it to be his first duty to support the Washington authorities. The bill was then passed by yeas 102, nays 6.

The announcement of the vote was greeted with cheers. Those voting in the negative were Messrs. Cozans, Hardy, Kenny, Varian, Walsh and Young—all from the city of New York.

The afternoon session, says a contemporary writer, was probably the most solemn that has ever been held at Albany. Members felt that they had been called upon to perform a painful duty, yet one that the exigencies

of the times demanded that they should discharge fearlessly and without regard to the consequences. The bill having been read by sections, was passed the same evening, by the Senate, which, however, encumbered it still further by adding the treasurer and state engineer to the Military Board. The Republicans not only introduced the measure, but also threw their united influence in its favor. Senators Goss, Truman, and Spinola supported the bill with great force, and Senator Ramsay made a patriotic speech which awakened warm applause. Senator Colvin, casting behind him the hesitations of the past, gave voice to the following glowing language: "The country is in a crisis, and he who falters is a traitor to his country! * * * Sir, Secession is rebellion, and is not tolerated by the Constitution!" Senator Conolly followed in a speech which likewise elicited universal approbation. The yeas were 29, the nays were 3.

Next followed the call of the President for 75,000 men from the country at large; but the governor had already notified Mr. Lincoln that 30,000 men from New York instead of the 13,000 requisitioned, were at the disposition of the General Government; and thus the preponderating influence of New York was cast into the balance in favor of the Union and the Laws.

The Seventh, Sixth, Seventy-first, and Seventy-ninth Regiments, and many other organizations, immediately held meetings and volunteered to march; and in pursuance of General orders from my office, dated the 17th of April, the Seventh Regiment, under the command of the gallant Colonel Marshall Lefferts, departed on the 19th inst. to perform the admirable work which is brilliantly set forth on another page of this Magazine.



[Since the death of his father, Chief Justice John Meredith Read of Pennsylvania, the author of the above, has dropped the junior from his name.—*Editor*.]

THE SEIZURE AND REDUCTION OF FORT PULASKI

The convention of the people of Georgia which passed an ordinance "To dissolve the union between the state of Georgia and other states united with her under a compact of government entitled 'the Constitution of the United States of America,'" did not assemble in Milledgeville, —then the capital of that commonwealth,—until Wednesday, the 16th of January, 1861. The proclamation of Governor Joseph E. Brown, ordering an election, by the people, of delegates from the several counties to that convention, was issued on the 21st of November, 1860. In the selection of these delegates the deepest interest was manifested, and the public heart was stirred to its inmost depths by the momentous questions which agitated the nation. On the 20th of December, 1860, South Carolina, whose associations with Georgia, from the inception of that colony, had at all times been most intimate and cordial, unanimously adopted an ordinance revoking her delegated powers, and withdrawing from the Union. Profound was the impression created in Georgia by this action on the part of her sister State. The retirement of her representatives from Congress; the events which quickly followed in Charleston Harbor; the failure of all overtures for conciliation, and assurances from trusted friends in Washington that coercive measures had been resolved upon by the general government, added fuel to the flame and encouraged prompt and decided action. So strong was the popular current in favor of the immediate capture of the forts and arsenals within the limits of Georgia, that a resolution was formed by a number of the leading citizens of Savannah to take possession of Fort Pulaski in advance of the assembling of the convention, and even without the formal sanction of the executive. Wiser counsels prevailed, however, and this contemplated movement was delayed until Governor Brown could be definitely advised of the situation. Responding to an urgent telegram from the Mayor of Savannah, he repaired to that city on the evening of the 2d of January. After calm deliberation, his Excellency, at a late hour the same night, issued the following orders to Colonel Alexander R. Lawton,* then commanding the 1st Regiment Georgia Volunteers:

* Afterwards Brigadier-General in Confederate service, and Quartermaster-General of the Confederacy.

" Headquarters Georgia Militia.

Savannah, January 2, 1861.

Colonel A. R. Lawton,

Commanding 1st Regt: Georgia Vols.

Savannah.

Sir,

In view of the fact that the Government at Washington has, as we are informed upon high authority, decided on the policy of coercing a seceding state back into the Union, and it is believed now has a movement on foot to reinforce Fort Sumter at Charleston, and to occupy with Federal troops the Southern forts, including Fort Pulaski in this state, which, if done, would give the Federal Government, in any contest, great advantages over the people in this state: to the end therefore that this stronghold, which commands also the entrance into Georgia, may not be occupied by any hostile force until the Convention of the State of Georgia, which is to meet on the 16th instant, has decided on the policy which Georgia will adopt in this emergency, you are ordered to take possession of Fort Pulaski as by *public* order herewith, and to hold it against all persons, to be abandoned only under orders from me, or under compulsion by an overpowering hostile force.

Immediately upon occupying the Fort, you will take measures to put it in a thorough state of defense as far as its means and ours will permit.

* * *

* * * * *

I am Sir, very respectfully

Your obedient servant,

Joseph E. Brown

Governor and Commander in Chief"

Early on the morning of the 3d of January, 1861, detachments from the Chatham Artillery, Captain Claghorn, the Savannah Volunteer Guards, Captain Screven, and the Oglethorpe Light Infantry, Captain Bartow,* numbering about one hundred and twenty-five men, under the immediate command of Colonel Lawton, embarked on board a steamer and, at twelve o'clock M. the same day, took formal possession of Fort Pulaski in the name of the state of Georgia. No resistance was encountered—the fort being in charge simply of an ordnance sergeant and a few assistants. The battery of the Chatham Artillery, comprising two 12-pounder howitz-

* Afterwards Brigadier General C. S. A., and killed at the first battle of Manassas.

ers and four 6-pounder bronze guns, accompanied this detachment, and was added to the armament of the fort, which then consisted of only twenty 32-pounder guns, the carriages of which were in many instances unserviceable. In the magazines a few hundred pounds of inferior powder were stored. The cartridge-bags were moth-eaten and valueless. Of solid shot there was but a limited supply. Not a shell was ready for service. Implements were scarce. The quarters were destitute of furniture. Not a gun was mounted *en barbette*. Of quartermaster and commissary stores there was no accumulation. The honor and safety of Georgia were at stake. The spirit of the men was admirable, and the troops entered with alacrity and zeal upon the task of placing the fort in as good a state of defense as the limited means at command would justify. The flag of Georgia was unfurled and saluted.* There it continued to wave in beauty until it gracefully yielded place to the national ensign of the Confederate States, within the ampler folds of which were garnered not only the hopes of the Empire State of the South, but the aspirations of her valiant sisters.

On the 18th of January the convention of the people of Georgia, assembled at Milledgeville, unanimously resolved: "That this convention highly approves the energetic and patriotic conduct of Governor Brown in taking possession of Fort Pulaski by Georgia troops, and requests him to hold possession until the relations of Georgia with the Federal Government be determined by this convention." This resolution was adopted at the instance of the Hon. Robert Toombs, who had just vacated his seat in the Senate of the United States.

It may not be denied that this occupation of Fort Pulaski by Georgia state troops, in obedience to the orders of Governor Brown, in advance of

* The first Secession banner, or flag of separate state independence, raised in the South during this eventful period was, it is believed, displayed by the citizens of Savannah, Georgia. It was exhibited from the monument erected in honor of General Greene in Johnson Square. It bore this inscription and device:

"OUR MOTTO;

SOUTHERN RIGHTS

EQUALITY OF THE STATES."

[A rattlesnake in the attitude of striking.]

"DON'T TREAD ON ME."

Its display was accompanied by demonstrations of the wildest enthusiasm, by bonfires, illuminations, fire-works, and soul-stirring utterances from popular orators and prominent citizens.

the withdrawal of Georgia from the Federal Union, exerted a potent influence not only within the limits of that commonwealth, but also among sister Southern states. Thus, prior to the assembling of her convention, was Georgia *de facto* committed to the doctrine of secession.

Mississippi adopted her ordinance of secession on the 9th of January, 1861. She was quickly followed by Florida on the 10th, Alabama on the 11th, Georgia on the 18th, and Louisiana on the 26th.

So intent were the Confederates upon the tenure of Fort Pulaski, and so industriously had they been engaged in strengthening its armament, that at the time of its reduction in April 1862, its battery consisted of forty-eight guns of all calibers. There were five 10-inch and nine 8-inch columbiads unchambered, three 42-pounder and twenty 32-pounder guns, two 24-pounder Blakely rifle guns, one 24-pounder iron howitzer, two 12-pounder bronze howitzers, two 12-inch iron mortars, three 10-inch sea-coast mortars, and one 6-pounder bronze field piece. The investing batteries,—eleven in number and mounting in the aggregate thirty-six pieces—were distributed along a front of 2,550 yards on Tybee Island, and at distances varying from 1,650 to 3,400 yards.

It lies not within the scope of this article to note the incidents of this bombardment, but we cannot refrain from alluding to the important military lesson inculcated on this occasion. By the three thousand shells and solid shot emitted from the 10 and 13-inch mortars, and from the 8 and 10-inch columbiads, admirably served by the United States troops, comparatively little damage was inflicted upon Fort Pulaski. Had these guns only been employed, the probability is that structure would have preserved its integrity for an indefinite period. To the novel and unexpected effect of the conical shot and percussion shells ejected from the James and Parrott rifles must be credited the breaching of the wall, the partial demoralization of the work, and the accomplishment of disastrous results which speedily rendered the fortification untenable. While the arches of the fort resisted the heaviest vertical fire encountered at the mouths of large mortars, and while the impact of solid shot from 8 and 10-inch columbiads proved inadequate for the serious impairment of the masonry walls of the fortress, it was quickly demonstrated that this well-constructed fortification could not long resist the penetration of, and demolition by, rifle projectiles guided with remarkable precision.

The siege and reduction of Fort Pulaski will be remembered as an important event not only in the history of the war between the states, but also in the development of the manufacture of heavy guns and the advancement of the science of artillery. The impulse which the results there

obtained imparted to the fabrication and employment of rifled ordnance and conical projectiles was strikingly illustrated during the subsequent operations of the Federals in Charleston harbor and at other points.

Nor was this lesson heeded only on this side of the Atlantic. The nations of Europe, appreciating its value, have remodeled their permanent fortifications, and have consigned to oblivion, both on shore and at sea, those old-fashioned smooth-bore guns the thunders of which had so long been regarded as most potent in deciding the fortunes of battle. We do not transcend the teachings of history when we affirm that this bombardment of Fort Pulaski, which culminated so disastrously to Confederate hopes, was largely instrumental in revolutionizing former theories with regard to the practicability of breaching admirably constructed brick scarp, and in introducing at home and abroad, on land and afloat, heavy rifle guns which are now the embodiment of martial power and precision.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, Georgia.

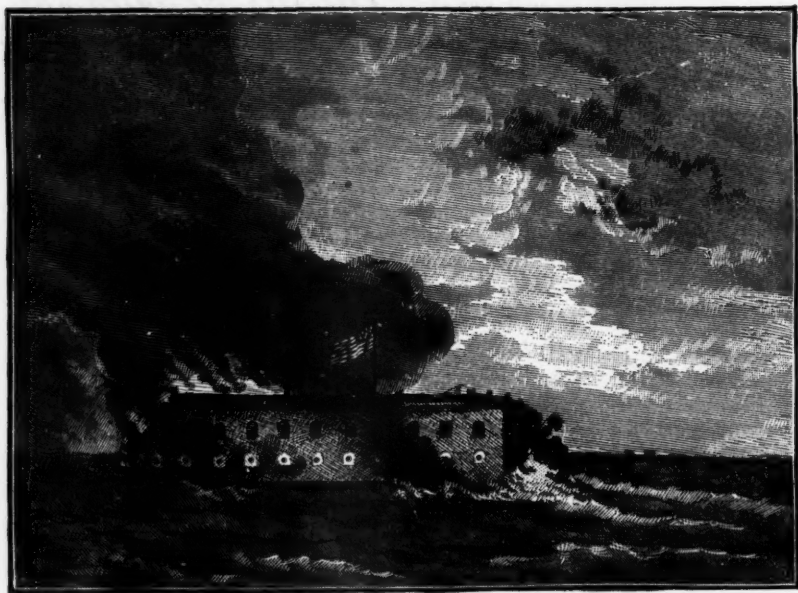
MARCH OF THE NEW YORK SEVENTH REGIMENT

THE GREAT UPRISING IN NEW YORK CITY, 1861

"Civil War has begun."

These four expressive words staring from the morning newspapers as the day dawned on Saturday, April 13, 1861, burned into the New York soul like molten iron. A terrible fight had been twenty-four hours in progress at Fort Sumter. The news with its as yet barren details spread through the city with the rapidity of thought. Whatever the public expectation concerning approaching hostilities between the Northern and Southern states, the reality was stunning, overwhelming. During the early morning hours of that black Saturday it was as if a pall had fallen over the whole Island of Manhattan.

"Fort Sumter is on fire!"



BURNING OF FORT SUMTER, APRIL 13, 1861.

From a photograph made at the time.

This exciting announcement came later. The flames bursting forth about eight o'clock that eventful morning, raged with great fury, until at noon every building in the stronghold was burning. At five minutes before one o'clock in the afternoon Major Anderson surrendered to the enemy and the guns ceased their roaring. But the strange echoes awakened by the Sumter guns were heard in every part of the continent for many troubled days. The blazing fort in Charleston harbor seemed to fill New York with its lurid light, and the atmosphere grew thick and heavy as with the smoke of battle. Trade stopped in its channels; men with pale distressed faces stood in groups on the street corners, or swelled the dense crowd that besieged Printing House Square to seize and devour the hourly bulletins as they appeared. Information that the American flag had given place to the Palmetto of South Carolina, touched unused and forgotten chords in the human heart. The chagrin and indignation that prevailed can neither be described nor imagined. A great and irrepressible love for the national flag leaped swiftly into life. It was at once displayed upon every flag-staff in the city, it crowned the roofs of dwellings, churches and factories, it fluttered from windows and public conveyances, it floated from the shipping, and men, women and children hastened to adorn their breasts with bits of red, white and blue ribbon. Swift-footed news-boys darted hither and thither with their piles of extras—on the cars, stages, steps of the cabs, everywhere these ubiquitous messengers were to be seen. The excitement grew more intense with every fresh piece of intelligence. Among commercial men at the Corn Exchange, at the Merchants' Exchange in Wall Street, in eating saloons, at hotels, and with the agitated throng on the streets nothing was talked of but Charleston, Fort Sumter and the war. At the Custom House men seemed actually paralyzed. Among the common people a panic was at one time created by the suggestion that New York would be next attacked. All through the evening and late into the night the club-rooms and other places of public resort were packed with excited multitudes; and under the street lamps, in front of the theaters, in the vestibules and on the steps of hotels and dwellings, extras were read and the one theme discussed. The fever had risen rather than abated on Sunday, April 14. People walked the streets, they conversed in loud then in hushed tones, they flocked to the churches where clergymen preached, not peace, but the sword. It was a Sabbath never to be forgotten. In Brooklyn a dense mass of humanity crowded every inch of space in Mr. Beecher's church, who spoke at great length and with wonderful eloquence and power on the error which would be committed if the government did not take measures to sustain itself. He said: "There is no fact suscep-

tible of proof in history, if it be not true that this Federal Government was created for the purpose of justice and liberty. Right before us, brethren, rolls the sea, red indeed, for there is blood in it, and the word of God is, go on."

On Monday, April 15, the President's call for 75,000 troops to retake and hold the forts and protect the property of the government, was met with immediate and decisive action. From every walk in life men stepped forward and offered their lives. Up to the time of this sublime outburst of public sentiment party heats and dissensions had nowhere raged with more virulence than in the City of New York. The newspapers were in a deadly war with each other on matters of opinion. The right and propriety of secession had been openly advocated. Indeed, there had been more or less discussion in political circles concerning the "true policy" of New York City in case of the disruption of the Union, which would be (as stated in a preceding article in this number of the Magazine) "to detach itself from either section and become a 'Free City,' occupying a somewhat similar relation to the states of the sundered Union, that such cities as Hamburg held so long to Prussia and the other German states." It was well known that the Southern leaders depended largely for strength at this juncture upon the influence of the *Herald* and other prominent New York papers. Thus the public eye turned toward them with questioning suspicion. The crowd in Printing House Square on Monday, despite a severe rain storm, was much larger and vastly more threatening than on Saturday. The police tried to preserve order, but the absence of the national flag from certain newspaper buildings created such a storm of popular resentment that a serious riot was imminent. Early in the afternoon the New York *Sun* displayed a neat flag over its bulletin, which was received with shouts and shouts and shouts of applause. The proprietor of the *Herald* had been waited upon in the morning by a committee of gentlemen, who assured him that if he did not display the Stars and Stripes there was danger that his "establishment" would be leveled with the pavement. As the day wore on the mob increased about the *Herald* building (then at the corner of Nassau and Fulton Streets) and grew more and more angry, and threatened more loudly and forcibly. It so happened that the *Herald* people had no flag in the building, neither had they any guns or weapons of defense. It was inconvenient to procure either in the alarming emergency. Yet something must be done. Wisdom was certainly the better part of valor. Finally a messenger was dispatched through the roof to procure the emblem of salvation. About half-past four o'clock in the afternoon an ensign was slowly dropped from an upper window, occasioning screams of delight and

satisfaction from the mob below, who having nothing further to demand, very soon dispersed, to the relief of all concerned.

On Wednesday morning, the 17th, the New York *Times* published the following editorial:

"SUDDEN CONVERSION.—The Union revival of the last few days has produced some very sudden and very remarkable conversions among our newspaper neighbors. The old Harlequin of the *Herald* is among them. He was brought to a realizing sense of his losing condition by a deputation from the street below, who expressed the opinion that his personal comfort would be promoted by his hoisting the American flag. He seemed to feel the force of the suggestion, but didn't happen to have such an article in his establishment. He had *heard* of it but had never sailed under it. One was procured, however, after some delay, and for lack of a flag-staff hung out of the window. Yesterday the *Herald* was devoted mainly to proving that it had always frowned upon Secession, and that if its advice had been taken the Southern rebels would have been crushed out long ago. The joke was pretty broad, but nobody laughed. The fact is the old Harlequin is about 'played out.' People are beginning to take too serious views of public affairs to render his incitements to rebellion amusing."

Meanwhile, the New York Seventh Regiment, or National Guard, the pride of the city, representing in its very composition the foremost families of wealth and influence, boldly declared itself for the flag and the Union. A meeting was held on Tuesday, the 16th, at which forty officers were present, and the following resolution unanimously adopted:

Resolved,—That the Colonel be requested to notify the Major-General that this Regiment responds to the call of the country as made by the President through the Governor of the State, and that the regiment is *ready to march forthwith*.

The magnetic influence of such prompt action upon the other militia regiments was immediately apparent. The tidings that the New York Seventh would march in the van to the relief and defense of Washington, went with the speed of a whirlwind from mouth to mouth, from city to city, and over the electric wires to the remotest confines of the State and country—trailing the fire of enthusiasm all along its course. At a late hour on Wednesday evening, the 17th, the following orders from the governor reached the regiment, and were hailed with the wildest delight:—

HEADQUARTERS STATE OF NEW YORK,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, ALBANY, *April 17, 1861.*

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 43.

In pursuance of a requisition from the President of the United States, Major-General Sandford is hereby directed to detail one regiment of 800, or two regiments amounting to the same number, for immediate service, to be reported forthwith to the President of the United States, and to serve until relieved by other regiments, or by a regiment or regiments of the Volunteer Militia, to be organized under an act of the Legislature of this State, passed April 16, 1861.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

J. MEREDITH READ, JR.,
Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS, FIRST DIVISION N. Y. S. M.,
NEW YORK, April 17, 1861.

In pursuance of General Orders No. 43 from General Headquarters, the Seventh Regiment N. Y. S. M., under command of Colonel Lefferts, is hereby detailed for immediate service at the national capital. Colonel Lefferts will order his regiment to assemble at its armory on Friday, at 3 P. M., armed and equipped for embarkation, each man supplied with provisions for twenty-four hours. Colonel Lefferts will, upon his arrival at Washington, report to General Scott.

The Major-General congratulates the Seventh Regiment upon being the first corps detailed from this State, in response to the call of the constituted authorities, to support the Constitution and to vindicate the honor of that glorious flag which was consecrated by the blood of our fathers.

By order of

CHARLES W. SANDFORD,
Major-General Commanding.

The order from Colonel Lefferts was at once issued, and nine hundred and forty-five men immediately reported for duty. The commander, Marshall Lefferts, was just in the prime of life, of fine manly presence, quick of thought and prompt in action, and of sound judgment and great force and strength of character.* The major, Alexander Shaler, afterward served with distinction in the army of the Potomac, and for gallantry and meritorious services was commissioned brigadier-general, and later on breveted major-general. He was conspicuous for his exact discipline in camp and for his coolness in great emergencies. In 1867 he was appointed by Governor Fenton, major-general of the First Division National Guard of the State of New York, which position he has held to the present time, a period of eighteen years.† It was a regiment of officers, this "unrivalled body of citizen soldiery"—as Stephen A. Douglas called it. Six hundred and six of its members afterward served as officers in the Regular and Volunteer Army and Navy of the United States during the civil war. Hundreds sought admittance in vain to its ranks, which

* Marshall Lefferts was forty years of age, a native of Brooklyn, of old Knickerbocker ancestry, and a busy merchant in New York. He furnished the first zinc plated wire used for telegraphic purposes in the United States; was the first President of the New York and New England and of the New York State Telegraphic Companies, and at the time of his death in 1876, was President of the Gold and Stock Telegraph Company of New York, and of the Celluloid Manufacturing Company of Newark, New Jersey.

† The staff officers of the regiment at this date were Egbert L. Viele, Captain of Engineers; Timothy M. Cheesman, Surgeon; Locke W. Winchester, Quartermaster; John C. Dalton, Surgeon's Mate; Sullivan H. Weston, Chaplain; Meredith Howland, Assistant Paymaster; William Patten, Commissary; John A. Baker, Ordnance Officer; George W. Brainerd, Assistant Quartermaster; Charles J. McClenachan, Military Secretary; J. H. Liebenau, Adjutant. The captains of the several companies were: W. P. Bense (A), Emmons, Clark (B), James Price (C), William H. Riblet (D), William A. Speaight (E), Benjamin M. Nevers, Jr. (F), John Monroe (G), Henry C. Shumway (H), Henry A. Cragin, 1st Lieut. *Commanding* (I), and George C. Farrar (K.).

were already full. During the few hours prior to its departure the business of the city was almost entirely suspended. The entire population seemed to have gone raving mad with excitement. The arrival of Major Anderson from Charleston added powder to the flame. It was sensation upon sensation, panic upon panic. At the places of enlistment everybody seemed to be volunteering, and new regiments were rapidly forming. All



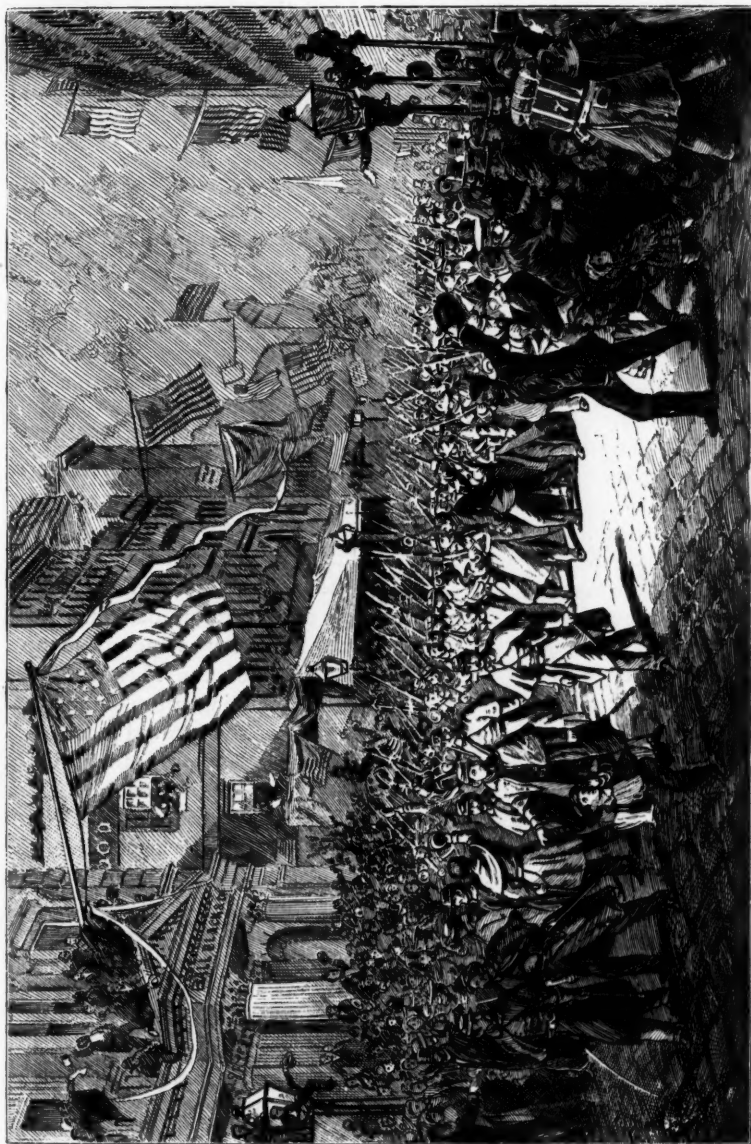
Marshall Lippert

party differences were lost in that supreme moment. The hatchet was buried, and the bayonet of the Union rose in its stead.

On that fair Friday, April 19, while the gallant Seventh was bidding adieux to home and friends in New York, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, which passed through the city the day before, had reached and was fighting in Baltimore. The thrilling news came just before the Seventh formed in Lafayette Place, and all the fine, frenzied enthusiasm of the nervous American nature was aroused. The excitement as these heroic, dignified,

and admirably drilled and disciplined men of the Seventh wheeled into column, with their faces Washington-ward, was sublime, almost terrific. Men cheered and shouted as men never cheered and shouted before; ladies laughed and sobbed, smiled and wept. For hours the people had swarmed Broadway from curbstone to roof, patiently waiting, and the display of the national colors on every side gave to the whole the effect of some grand carnival scene. The march of the Seventh down Broadway was less a march than a triumphal procession. A faithful and graphic description of the impressive scene is beyond the reach of pen. It was not only because—as men wrote and exclaimed—"New York loves the Seventh, it has distilled its best blood into it" that tears and caresses were showered like the rain from Heaven upon its members as they moved with firm, elastic step into the unknown; but they had generously abandoned their business pursuits at a sacrifice of untold thousands to defend the beloved flag of the nation at a terrible crisis in its affairs, and their spirit was contagious in the superlative degree. The moral effect upon the country at large can never be fully measured or appreciated. The slightest expression of sympathy with secession was unsafe on that day. While passing the store of Ball, Black & Co., Major Anderson, of Sumter, appeared on the balcony, and the several companies of the Seventh paused successively and joined in the tempest of applause with which he was greeted.

It was past midnight when the regiment reached Philadelphia, and there learned that the revolt of the Marylanders had interposed a bar to the march of troops to Washington. Three railroad bridges had been actively removed within a few hours and all the telegraph wires cut. Colonel Lefferts consulted with his officers and determined to charter a steamer for Annapolis—which was done at once on his own personal responsibility, he drawing on his firm in New York for the money. Before eleven, Saturday morning (April 20), the steamer *Boston* had been secured, and by three in the afternoon of the same day it was fully equipped and provisioned, and the regiment embarked. While it was steaming down the Delaware the immense mass meeting in Union Square, New York, referred to in another article, was exercising its controlling influence over the affairs of the country. On Monday morning, April 22, the little *Boston* with its precious freight anchored in front of the city of Annapolis where the Eighth Massachusetts, commanded by General Benjamin F. Butler, had arrived before them in the ferryboat *Maryland* (via Havre de Grace), which was hard and fast on a mud bank. The state and city authorities protested earnestly against the landing of troops and their passage through the city or state in any event; they represented the hostility such as to



MARCH OF THE SEVENTH REGIMENT DOWN BROADWAY.
Engraved for the Magazine from the original by Thomas Nast, owned by Colonel Emmons Clark.

render such an attempt perilous in the superlative degree. But Colonel Lefferts and his officers determined to land at once, and force, if necessary, a passage to the National capital. Before landing, however, several hours were spent by the *Boston* in unavailing efforts to float the *Maryland*, and finally the New York Seventh marched into the city, and sent their steamer back to debark the Massachusetts men.

Far more memorable than its beginning, or its progress, was the termination of the march of the New York Seventh Regiment. From the most trustworthy information that could be obtained by its commander, the whole country was in arms, the roads infested with guerrillas and bushwhackers, Baltimore secessionists had seized important bridges, the railroad was torn away for many miles, all telegraphic communications severed, and serious resistance must be expected.

After briefly discussing the alarming prospect, the regiment to a man resolved that having left New York for the relief and defense of Washington, it was its duty to face all perils, surmount all obstacles, push rapidly forward and spare no effort to reach its destination. It also determined to reconstruct the railroad track as it went along in order that other troops might follow without detention.

The mettle of these young men, trained only to mercantile pursuits, was here put to the severest test. Unaccustomed to the hardships of camp and field, or exposure, and in an enemy's country, without palatable food, they performed a service which will go down into history as one of the most important events of the War. Two companies of the Massachusetts Eighth seized and occupied the railroad depot, mending a broken locomotive and two miles of railroad track, in readiness for the forward movement. The Second and Sixth Companies of the New York Seventh, Captains Clark and Nevers, were honored with the post of danger—the advance.* Their train was an ingenious contrivance. It comprised two open platform cars formed by sawing off the tops of two old cattle-cars, the locomotive, and two small cars for passengers. On the first platform car was a loaded howitzer, on the second ammunition. An officer stood at the forward end of the first, with a guard of eight men distributed about the howitzer, and one man detailed for the specific purpose of watching for breaks in the road. The Second and Sixth Companies were at first packed into the two small cars. They soon came to where the road was so badly broken that

* Captain Emmons Clark, who was honored with the post of danger on this perilous and important march, has been the Colonel of the Seventh Regiment since June 21, 1864, now just twenty-one years. He was the son of a clergyman, and a graduate from Hamilton College, where he held high rank as a scholar. He has also held the responsible position of Secretary of the Board of Health since 1866, a period of nineteen years.

the engine and the two rear cars must be left behind ; the platform cars were then dragged with ropes by the men, stopping from time to time to restore rails. Skirmishers thrown out on either side of the road to guard against sudden assaults were in the meantime plunging through forest and fen, sweeping the country in a swathe a mile broad. During the forenoon the



Emmons Clark
Cor. Com. 7 Reg. N. Y. Inf.

main body of the regiment joined the advance six miles out of Annapolis. Pushing on three or more miles further they found a railroad bridge gone, and were hindered to construct a new one, felling trees and hewing timber, without suitable tools, but succeeding in the end and passing their train over it. It was nearly night of the second day before this was accomplished, and yet they marched on six miles or more in the inky darkness, tugging their howitzer along over the newly laid track. One of the party wrote,

"The engineer corps had of course to do the forwarding work—New York dandies, Sir—but they built bridges, laid rails, and headed the regiment through that terrible march." The missing rails had frequently been dragged a considerable distance and hidden in the woods. To search for them, and adjust them in their places, guarding all the while against a sudden surprise from the foe, was serious business. In one place about twenty feet of track, rails, chains and ties, had been lifted up and pitched to the bottom of a steep embankment. Not a moment was lost; all realized the importance of perpetual activity. The skirmishers frequently discovered men tearing up the road in the distance, but in every instance they fled as the soldiers approached. Trouble was confidently expected at Annapolis Junction; the extravagant idea, however, which had spread through the country in respect to the number and prowess of the famous National Guard frightened away all opposition. At ten o'clock Thursday morning, April 25, six days after leaving New York, the Seventh was on the cars sent out from Washington, and at noon reached the beleaguered capital. Colonel Emmons Clark in his history of the Second Company, published in 1864, says: "It is a remarkable fact, and evidence of the unsettled state of the country and the complete destruction of communications, that no trustworthy information was received in New York of the movements of this regiment for nearly a week after its departure." Its heroic energy in occupying Annapolis, and opening the railroad to Annapolis Junction, was of the utmost moment to the future of the Republic. General Scott, upon learning the details of its adventures, hardships, hunger, and fatigue while dragging the cars, relaying rails, constructing bridges, and pushing its scouts three miles ahead of the regiment, pronounced "this forced march unsurpassed in the history of the Mexican War."

"The Seventh Regiment has arrived amid the wildest enthusiasm" were the telegraphic words that flashed over the country from Washington that afternoon. "One would have thought the invasion was of a foe, and that a panic had seized the population. The whole city danced with delight. The men looked worn and weary, as well they might, after their rough work. Nevertheless they were all in good spirits, and they walked almost with springing steps. A greater change never came over a town than that wrought in the space of half an hour."

THE SEVENTH REGIMENT AT THE CAPITAL, 1861

"THE DAYLIGHT CONTINGENT"

Viewed through the long retrospect of a quarter of a century, the events which preceded and accompanied the great uprising of the people in 1861 possess an almost melodramatic interest when compared with the terrible tragedies of the succeeding years of bloody strife. From the day that the result of the general election of 1860 was known, the preparation for an armed resistance to the National Authority throughout the Southern States began, and for four months the Government looked upon these seditious proceedings with a wonderful complacency, hardly rising above a keen curiosity as to what might be the next scene enacted. And yet these four months were nothing more nor less than active, diligent, and resolute preparations for war, absolute and predetermined measures of hostility, which should and could have been suppressed in their incipient stages, before the mass of the Southern people were dragooned into tardy acquiescence in rebellion. The guns of Sumter, as they echoed through the land, aroused the North to the reality of the situation. From the 4th of March the city of Washington had been trembling over a slumbering volcano, surrounded on all sides by hostile elements, containing within its precincts a seditious horde, many of whom were life-long parasites upon the public treasury. The anxious authorities knew not what a single day or a single hour might develop. Rumors of the wildest character filled the air. Undisguised and open threats had been made that the seat of government was to be captured. In fact the National Capital, with its archives, its memorials, and its treasures, was at the mercy of an invading host, had they chosen to assail it. Under these circumstances came the call of the President for 75,000 men. It was only a measure of defense; even then it was fondly hoped that the dread calamity of war might be averted, notwithstanding all the seditious acts. Nevertheless the call to arms meant war, and New York City rose up as one man to assert the supremacy and the power of the Government. Never before was, and perhaps never again will be, witnessed such a scene as that on Union Square, on the 20th of April, 1861. Burning words of eloquence and patriotism stirred the people to action. Sixty thousand resolute, earnest and determined men then and there resolved to offer their all! themselves, their sons, and their sons' sons, for

the national honor and the national defense. The day before, April 19, New York had witnessed another scene only paralleled by this one. In response to the call of the President the Seventh Regiment had answered like the minute-men of the Revolution. This truly representative body of citizen soldiery embraced within its ranks all walks, all callings of life. Merchants, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, artisans, all were represented. In fact it would be impossible for any body of men to be more closely identified with the active business interests of the metropolis. At a moment's notice all these interests were laid down, and exchanged for the sword and the musket. Those who witnessed the departure of the regiment will never forget it. Amid the plaudits and the tears, the blessings and the fears of the entire populace assembled along the line of march, they moved with full ranks and steady tread. A thousand bayonets glittered in the sun, and a thousand stalwart citizens passed out from the life of the great city to meet an unknown danger, how many perhaps never to return. It was a solemn hour, and it left the homes of New York filled with sorrowful forebodings of the future. Then came the startling intelligence of the burning of the railway bridges, and the destruction of the approaches to the capital. The Seventh had arrived at Philadelphia, and in consequence of obstructions to their progress by land, had taken the steamer *Boston* to reach Washington by sea and the Chesapeake; and all communication ceased. The mails were stopped, the telegraph wires were cut, and a terrible suspense hung like a pall over the city. Rumors came of disaster, of bloody engagements, of lack of provisions, of hunger, privation and distress. Then promptly came forward the merchants and the bankers with open coffers. A "Union Defense Committee" was organized, and any amount of money generously pledged and freely contributed to the cause. A vessel was chartered without a moment's delay, and loaded with provisions for the gallant Seventh. The steamer *Daylight* was the one selected. Five hundred volunteers offered their services to join the regiment; very many of them were young men of independent fortunes or sons of wealthy citizens. There was only room for two hundred, who were accepted. The engineer officer of the regiment, who with a few other members had been detained on its departure, took command of the vessel and the Contingent. They assembled at the armory of the Seventh on the morning of the 24th, and after a few hours' drill, entirely new to most of them, they marched down Broadway to take the steamer with the bearing and appearance of veterans, and amid an ovation second only to that which greeted the regiment five days before. Meanwhile the main body of the regiment had passed through the Delaware to the sea, and down the coast to the mouth

of the Chesapeake, and thence toward Annapolis. What was before them they knew not. Possibly the mob spirit that had risen uncontrolled in Baltimore and murdered the men of Massachusetts, had taken possession also of Annapolis, and the landing there would be disputed. A sudden and peremptory hail, in the midst of a dense fog, from some vessel in the stream, as they approached the city, seemed portentous of evil, but a nearer view revealed a United States man-of-war, and brought about a mutual surprise and relief, as neither had any knowledge of the possible presence of anything but a hostile force. Then followed a speedy landing, and the revelation that destruction had also overtaken this route to the capital. The railway had been torn up, the cars destroyed, and Washington more than ever menaced with danger. A panic had seized the people. Women and children, and even men, were fleeing from the impending danger. The force at the command of the authorities was insignificant, compared with the number that were said to be gathering for its capture or destruction. To overcome this fear, to meet this emergency, there was work to be done by the Seventh. Communication must be reopened and established at whatever cost, and cheerfully they undertook the task. The railway must be rebuilt, the engines repaired, weary marches were to be made, an unseen foe to be looked for at every step, and all this by men unused for the most part to manual labor and unaccustomed to privations or fatigue. Inspired by a common purpose, there was no lack of enthusiasm or of energy. In these first days of the long and bitter struggle the minds of men were not yet accustomed to the scenes of carnage that came all too soon, and the events through which these novices in war were passing were accompanied by all that sense of danger and demanded all that fortitude of character that were called forth by the more tragic events that followed. The evidences of general disaffection in the State of Maryland were too palpable not to warrant the anticipation of a night attack on the bivouac while the railway was being repaired, but the regiment was thoroughly prepared for this. At length Annapolis Junction was reached, where the train dispatched by General Scott received the regiment and hurried it to Washington. Its arrival was worth ten thousand men to the anxious loyal people of the capital, for it gave them that sense of relief and security they had not felt for weeks. Deploying into columns as soon as they left the cars the regiment marched the entire length of Pennsylvania Avenue, cheered and greeted at every step, to the White House, where they were received by the President, and then marched back to the Capitol and quartered in the Hall of Representatives. While the route from Annapolis was thus being opened to the capital, the *Daylight*, with its Contingent and stores passing

down the Bay, steamed direct for Hampden Roads. During the trip a constant drill was maintained. Arriving after dark of the second day, the lights in the light-houses were found to have been extinguished, while the dim outline of the coast was barely discernible. Moving cautiously shoreward with the leads thrown on both sides of the vessel, the channel was

Union Defence Committee,

OF THE CITIZENS OF NEW-YORK.

OFFICE, No. 30 FINE STREET.

New York, June 29th 1861.

*Extract from Proceedings
of Executive Committee*

The Seventh Regiment commanded by Col. Marshall Lafferts, so long the pride of the City of New York, abandoned the ties of home and business, and with an alacrity that has scarcely a parallel in military history, marched its thousand disciplined men steadily to the Capital, where it performed efficiently and faithfully all its duties, and whence it has returned, at the close of its full term of service, distinguished by the grateful commendation of the President, and the Commanding General of the Army.

A detachment of 200 men of the Reserve of this Regiment, led by Captain C. L. Vile, was the first military body, which opened the passage, and passed to the City of Washington by the Potomac River. Much credit was justly accorded to that Officer, for the skill, spirit and perseverance evinced by him on the occasion, referred to.

Ex Report of June 29th 1861.

*Joseph W. Matthews
Sec. Exec. Com.*

New York Sept. 16. 1861

Major General

E. A. Vose.

Dear Sir;

It gives me pleasure to
hand you annexed transcript of proceedings
of Executive Committee in reference to
the services performed by the *Shenandoah*
and especially those so gallantly rendered
by yourself in opening the Potomac River
at a critical moment in the conduct
of Military Movements at Washington

I am

Very very truly
Yours
J. M. Watson

found, and the steamer passed safely into the Roads and anchored under the walls of Fortress Monroe, while the commander communicated with Captain Gillis of the United States steamer *Seminole*. Having learned that the Seventh had gone to Annapolis, as also the Eighth Massachusetts, he decided to proceed direct to Washington by the way of the Potomac. No vessel had yet made the attempt, in consequence of the rumor that batteries had been erected along the river. Captain Gillis kindly loaned two Dahlgren howitzers with an ample supply of ammunition. These were placed at the bow of the *Daylight*, giving her the appearance and the effectiveness of a gunboat, and thus equipped the Contingent set out to open the way to Washington by the Potomac. All the buoys in the channel had been removed, and progress was necessarily slow. This afforded time to drill the artillery assignment in the use of the guns. They were beautiful pieces, great pets with the Navy, having been used in the attack on the Peiho forts in China, and were inscribed with that victory. Lieu-

tenant Horace Porter of the Ordnance Corps of the Army, afterward General Porter, had joined the *Daylight* at New York, there being no other way to reach Washington, to which place he had been ordered. To him was given command of the artillery, and with great diligence he qualified the gunners in their duties. Arriving off Fort Washington, opposite Mount Vernon, the vessel was brought to by a shot across her bow from



THE MARBLE ROOM OF THE CAPITOL.

the fort. On going ashore the commander learned that the utmost consternation prevailed at Alexandria. Refugees were arriving every hour at the fort, and reported five guns in battery on the wharf to prevent any relief by the river going to Washington. The alternative of staying where they were or being blown out of existence was gravely presented to the commander of the detachment by the commanding officer of the fort. It was a responsible and trying position, but after a careful inspection of the vessel, finding that the boilers were protected by the coal bunkers, and having great confidence in the grape and canister of the howitzers as well as in the courage of the men, the commander determined that duty pointed the way to the capital. As the *Daylight* approached Alexandria the cannon were traileed for action, muskets were loaded, and each man stood ready for the word of command that would follow the signal of hostilities from the shore. It was a serious situation. As the vessel steamed slowly

by, not a word was spoken. The insurgent sentinel who paced the wharf looked steadily at the armed ranks that faced him, but uttered no sound. The flag of disunion fluttered from the staff whence Ellsworth subsequently tore it down and lost his life simultaneously with that of the man who unfurled it to the breeze; and soon the town was passed, without a word or shot being exchanged. It was better so; although a different result might have hastened the issue with advantage to the Government. At any rate the Potomac was opened and the New York Seventh had won another laurel. The next day the First Rhode Island followed the *Daylight* in the *Bienville*.

It was a dismal rainy Sabbath day (28th April) when the *Daylight* was

made fast at the Washington wharf. The President and Secretary of State hastened to welcome the new arrivals. They came at once to the steamer, and President Lincoln grasped the hand of every man on board, not ex-



THE SEVENTH QUARTERED IN THE HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES.

[From a photograph made at the time.]

cepting the stokers and firemen, whom he called up from their work to thank them as heartily as the rest for their courage and their presence in the hour of need. A detachment of four men held a large piece of canvas at each corner to shelter the President from the rain while the hand-shaking took place. The next morning the regimental band with an escort

came down and escorted the *Daylight* reinforcements to the Capitol, and the bivouac on the floor of the Hall of Representatives.

What a scene the Capitol now presented! At the entrance cannon loaded with grape and canister were planted. Arms were stacked in the Rotunda and sentinels guarded every avenue of approach. The whole building was one vast barracks. A bakery was improvised in the basement. Thousands of barrels of flour and other provisions filled the crypt. The marble floors resounded with the constant tread of the relief guard. Every available spot within the legislative halls, the galleries and the committee rooms, was appropriated for sleeping places, and the one great fact was now established beyond all peradventure that no flag but that of the Union could ever float over that great edifice.

The monotony of daily life, if such a life could be called monotonous, was varied in numerous ways—among others were mock sessions of Congress, with all the gravity and, perhaps, more assumption of dignity than actual representatives. The proceedings would be conducted in regular order. A speaker would rap with his gavel and the House would come to order. Members from different sections would rise to debate. Innumerable and extraordinary points of order were raised, and constituted, as in many more legitimate assemblages, the principal business of the House. It was a glorious field for the display of wit and humor, and was a never-ending source of amusement. An occasional visit from the President to their spacious quarters at the Capitol was always an interesting event to the regiment. One or more cabinet officers generally accompanied him. Every day new regiments poured into Washington, until the city became one vast camp. As soon as the equipage of the Seventh could be forwarded, a camping ground was chosen and tents pitched. The regiment then left the Capitol in charge of a permanent guard. The camp of the Seventh soon became the center of attraction. The evening parades drew large crowds to Meridan Hill. Every day witnessed marked improvements in drill and discipline, and it is safe to say that a more soldierly body of men it would be difficult to find.

Then came the mysterious order for a midnight movement—to what point and for what purpose no one knew. Each man was supplied with forty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations, and at two o'clock in the morning, without music and with but one low word of command, the regiment left its camp and marching silently through the city crossed the Long Bridge into Virginia. Ellsworth's forces moved at the same time down the river to Alexandria. The tragedy of Ellsworth's death and its speedy revenge followed quickly. It was the beginning of a long and bloody con-

flict, the history of which will probably never be fully told; but its results will be traced for many generations to come in the higher and nobler plane of civilization that has been developed through the length and breadth of the American continent under and by its influence. The task of the regiment did not end here. Twice again it went with equal alacrity to the front, and although as a regiment it was never brought face to face with the foe in battle, it gave more than six hundred of its brave men to most of the battles of the war, and its roll of honor is starred with the names of many heroes who poured their life-blood freely out *pro bono publico*; but that first march, the echoes of whose tread reverberated through the land, was the tocsin that called the nation to arms, for it marked the deadly earnestness with which the Union was to be defended.

Egbert L. Vail

WALL STREET IN THE CIVIL WAR

Wall Street derives its name from the wooden wall erected on its present course over two hundred years ago by the early Dutch settlers as a bulwark of defense against the incursions of wild beasts and savages—and of English enemies during the Dutch and English war.

Later, under English authority, Wall Street became the seat of the Colonial State Government, and the scene of the Stamp Act Congress, and finally, when separation from the Mother country had been determined upon, the Declaration of Independence was here publicly proclaimed with great enthusiasm. About the time of the foundation of our Government it was a fashionable thoroughfare, and the rendezvous of the statesmen of our political *renaissance*, of Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Franklin, and Jay. The Federal Congress sojourned here for six years, and on the spot now occupied by the marble steps of the Sub-treasury, George Washington took the oath of office as first President of the United States.

But the bird of fashion migrated to another abode; the seat of government was transferred to the banks of the Potomac, and the political glories of Wall Street faded into a dim historic memory. Toward the close of the last century it began to assume a moneyed character, which each subsequent decade has confirmed and enlarged. Wall Street now means something more than that short and narrow thoroughfare stretching from Trinity Church to East River. With the growth of large cities each important branch of business appropriates to itself, by some law of accident or natural selection, a special locality which thereafter becomes identified with it. In this sense therefore "Wall Street" includes Nassau, Broad, New, William, Exchange Place, and lower Broadway. Here are located the Sub-treasury, the Custom House, the Stock, Produce, Cotton, Petroleum and Mining Exchanges, railway offices, banks, brokers, representatives of foreign capital and financial agents of every description.

Without exaggeration this is the moneyed center of the nation, the fountain head of its capital, credit and speculation.

When the Bank of New York, the first banking institution of the city, was established, business of this character was not regarded as so beneficial or essential as at present, but with the development of the country's commerce and resources, the financial consequence of Wall Street increased, and by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 it was of recognized and commanding importance. The city at that time, with its population

of 800,000, was relatively as large as to-day with over a million and a quarter of inhabitants. Its business interests were widely extended and not limited to a local character. It was estimated that fully one-half of the commercial indebtedness of the South was held in New York. Any rupture of peaceful relations with this section would not only involve the annulment of this indebtedness, but would cut off a valuable constituency whose cotton was King. Moreover it would jeopardize its coasting trade and foreign commerce, and, in fact, expose the city itself to the dangerous vicissitudes of war. The commercial and banking interests of the city were intimately bound together, and it was natural that they both should have exerted themselves, as they did, to avert the arbitrament of war. When, however, it appeared that nothing could stay the "irrepressible conflict," and when the smoke of rebellion enveloped the flag at Sumter, Wall Street poured out its treasure to save the Union.

On March 4, 1861, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, was made Secretary of the Treasury in President Lincoln's Cabinet. The last loan of ten millions in one year Treasury notes negotiated by the Treasury under Mr. Buchanan's administration had cost the Government about ten to twelve per cent. interest, so that at Mr. Chase's accession to the portfolio of the Treasury the credit of the nation was gone, its exchequer empty, and the shadow of war hung over all. Surely these conditions were sadly discouraging to a Finance Minister, whose duties demanded that he should point out the ways and means for raising funds to conduct the war on a Titanic scale.

Financial skill and a practical expression by capital of confidence in a victorious end were as necessary as strategy and statesmanship. Modern warfare is largely a contest between money bags, and dollars are almost as potent as bullets themselves. Throughout the war the silent forces of capital and credit were at work in Wall Street, operating through the banks and Treasury, providing the sinews of successful war; and this work was urgent and pressing, as the disbursements averaged two millions daily from Bull Run to Appomattox.

A special session of Congress was called for July 4, 1861, and meanwhile Secretary Chase had at his command only the unissued remnants of several loans which he managed to dispose of by temporary expedients to an extent sufficient to tide the Treasury over till July 17th, when the first war loan of \$250,000,000 was authorized. By this time the demands for cash were imperious and inexorable. The high interest rates exacted by lenders from Buchanan's Secretaries of the Treasury indicated that public subscriptions would be slow and unprofitable. In this exigency Mr. Chase looked to Wall Street, as he and his successors continued to do whenever

it became necessary to materialize the credit of the Government into money. He called a conference of the bankers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia to be held in the first-named city, August 19th, and before them he made a statement of the necessity of immediate aid to the Treasury. The banks did not wish to divert their resources from their customary commercial channels into the discredited paper of the Government, but patriotic rather than mercenary considerations impelled them to furnish relief and prevent any embarrassment to the Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. They consented to take fifty millions of three-year bonds bearing 7 3-10 per cent. interest at par, upon condition that such sales as might be made to the public at the time should be credited against the loan. On October 1st they again advanced fifty millions on the same terms, and on November 16th, fifty millions more for 6 per cent. twenty-year bonds at .895/8, or the equivalent of 7 per cent. interest. They hoped that they might dispose of some of this loan abroad, but the feeling there was not friendly to our cause and the idea was abandoned.

The *London Times* said that Secretary Chase had "coerced fifty millions from the banks of New York, but he would not fare so well in London." The *London Economist* said that "it is utterly out of the question in our judgment that the Americans can obtain either at home or in Europe anything like the sums they are asking. Europe *won't* lend them; America *cannot*." There is no doubt that the prompt action of the banks in indorsing the security of Government bonds greatly aided the Treasury in its future negotiations with the public and did much to establish the credit of subsequent loans.

The banks of New York furnished one hundred and five million dollars out of the whole one hundred and fifty millions advanced, and, to show that the terms of purchase were not regarded as specially advantageous, the fact may be mentioned that Boston declined to take her pro rata part, and New York made good the deficiency. The payments to the Treasury by the banks were made in coin, and immediately disbursed by the former. Both had their coin reserves so depleted that, on December 30, the banks of New York were forced to suspend specie payments, their stock of specie having declined from forty-two millions on December 7, to fourteen millions January 4, 1862. The Treasury and banks throughout the country also ceased to redeem their notes in coin.

Under the Act of July 17, power was conferred upon the Secretary to issue fifty millions demand notes receivable for all public dues, including customs, and on February 12, 1862, ten millions more were authorized. Though these notes were not convertible into gold, they were as good as

gold at the custom houses, and, consequently, were worth about as much as the metal itself. The Government needed coin to pay interest on its bonds, and the fact that these notes were outstanding embarrassed the Treasury, which made every effort to retire them.

At the date of suspension of specie payments, the paper currency issued by the state banks and in circulation amounted, in the aggregate, to about two hundred millions. Many irresponsible "wild-cat" banks had sprung up in the West and South, whose place of business could hardly be found with a search warrant. The New England system and the New York system were better, but the currency was of local character, and of very uncertain and uneven value. Every merchant and banker had to arm himself with a Bank Note detector, as the notes were of cheap and unskillful fabrication. Altogether it was an unsatisfactory system, and now that all pretense of coin redemption had been abandoned, it was an early consideration with Secretary Chase how to extinguish the state issues. This was finally accomplished, a year later, by the National Banking Act, which taxed the state bank circulation out of existence, and gave to the country a uniform currency, based on the credit of Government bonds.

The suspension of specie payments was immediately followed by the withdrawal from circulation of coin, which was estimated to be from one hundred and fifty millions to two hundred millions in volume, and gold at once commanded a premium. It may here be noted that the bonds taken by the banks a few months before were at this time worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. less in gold than their cost, though the improved credit of the Government in the spring of 1862 enabled them to dispose of such bonds as they still retained at a profit.

On February 25, 1862, there was enacted, under the pressure of war necessities, a measure which was severely condemned by many, and reluctantly approved by its friends. This was the Legal Tender Act, which authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty millions of notes, which were declared to be a legal tender in the discharge of all obligations except the payment of customs dues and interest on the public debt. In other words, it was a forced loan, without interest, though provision was made for the exchange of these notes at par into 6 per cent. bonds, called "fifties," payable, at the pleasure of the Government, in five years, and actually due in twenty, interest and principal payable in gold. By the act of March 3, 1863, this convertibility of greenbacks was to cease on the 1st of July following. While these notes were fundable into 6 per cent. interest-bearing bonds at par, they could not depreciate below the value of

the bonds, but this privilege was withdrawn to prevent such conversion, which would have caused a dangerous contraction of the currency. On June 11, 1862, one hundred and fifty million legal tender notes were authorized, and March 3, 1863, one hundred and fifty millions more.

The first emission of these notes merely filled the vacuum made by the disappearance of specie as a circulating medium, but after that inflation in prices was an inevitable result. The rapid and important rise in prices of all commodities was, however, partly due to the extraordinary demands for war supplies, which had to be furnished by a body of producers greatly diminished in numbers by enlistment in the army. On January 1, 1863, the number of men in the pay of the Government was over nine hundred thousand.

During the year 1862, Secretary Chase found it difficult to negotiate long loans, and about two hundred and thirty-five millions of the funds obtained by the Treasury were from legal tender and fractional currency issues, the remaining two hundred millions being chiefly derived from deposits, one-year certificates and three-year loans, only twenty-five millions of "five-twenties" having been sold. Thus the Government, during the year 1862, received very little support from the public, the banks furnishing money on temporary loans, and the people taking only such legal tender notes as were forced upon them.

In the summer of 1862 the Treasury required about four millions of gold to meet interest maturing July 1st on its bonds. To have come into the market to buy the gold would have materially enhanced its premium, so the Secretary exchanged $7\frac{3}{8}$ three-year bonds with the banks for the gold, as both gold and bonds commanded about the same premium in the market. Precisely one year after the Legal Tender Act became a law, or on February 25, 1863, the National Bank Act was passed, to which reference has already been made. This act encountered considerable opposition among the bankers in New York and elsewhere, notwithstanding it was Secretary Chase's pet plan. The leading financial periodical of New York pronounced it at the time "a monument of legislative folly."

The prejudice against it disappeared as the public became acquainted with its provisions, which insured large reserves, frequent inspections at unexpected intervals, and double liability of shareholders. The old state banks gradually converted their organization into National banks, and a system which was devised largely to make a market for Government bonds and to furnish facilities for the extensive collections and disbursements of the Treasury, has been, by common consent, perpetuated as the safest and best ever established.

Too much credit cannot be accorded to Secretary Chase for his persistent advocacy of this measure.

The colossal war loans which swelled our public debt to \$2,845,907,626.56 on August 31, 1865, were chiefly authorized and marketed during the years 1863, 1864, 1865, leading off with the one for nine hundred millions March 3, 1863, and ending with the famous "seven-thirty" loan of five hundred and thirty millions, negotiated through Jay Cooke & Co. This was in the summer of 1865, after the fall of Richmond and surrender of the Confederate army, and to meet heavy requisitions from the War Department to disband and transport the troops. During the later years of the Rebellion, when the ponderous enginery of war was battering down the defenses of the South, the credit of our securities obtained recognition in Europe, particularly in Germany, which profited largely by its purchases. Meanwhile wealth grew rapidly under the stimulus of the war expenditures, the increase of population, the issues of large quantities of paper money, the vast extension of our railway system, and the development of our manufacturing interests and rich agricultural areas. Much of the surplus of this money was converted into the interest-bearing obligations of the Government, and thus hundreds of millions were absorbed with less effort than hundreds of thousands had been a few years before. After the restoration of peace, the aim of the better and larger part of our people was to return to the solid and substantial basis of specie payment, and all the energies of the Treasury were bent to accomplish this purpose. On January 14, 1875, the bill providing for specie payments January 1, 1879, became a law, and to enable the Treasury to meet any coin demands at this date provision was made for the sale of 4 and 4½ per cent. bonds. In November, 1878, in anticipation of resumption, the Sub-Treasurer at New York was admitted to membership in the Clearing House, and all checks held by the city banks against the Treasury, and by it against the banks, were settled by the payments of balances in legal tender notes, and thus the coin was economized. In fact, this system has continued to the present time. At the time designated, January 1, 1879, according to Mr. John Jay Knox's figures—in his recent volume "United States Notes,"—the Treasury held one hundred and thirty-five millions of gold coin and bullion, and over thirty-two millions in silver. The gold coin represented nearly 40 per cent. of the notes outstanding.

Greenbacks thus became redeemable in gold at that date, and as National bank notes were convertible into legal tenders, the whole mass of paper was raised to a parity with gold. This was the last great act in the drama of war finances, and the climax was one inspiring every American

with pride and joy. The principal of the public debt has been rapidly reduced by our surplus revenues, and the remaining portion has been gradually funded or converted into bonds bearing a constantly diminishing rate of interest. To-day it may be stated, without any reservation, that the credit of the United States is the very best and highest in the world. It can also be truly said that the financial negotiations and achievements of the Treasury are in no small measure due to the patriotism, the wisdom, and the generous assistance and co-operation of the incorporated and private banks of New York.

The reserves of banks in all parts of the Union are largely held in Wall Street, and through the agency of the city banks collections and payments are made in all countries. Their functions are not merely local, but influence the money markets of the world. In periods of financial apprehension or commercial disturbances their action is awaited with the profoundest concern, and when they bind themselves together, uniting their cash resources to help weaker members through the crisis, immediate relief is experienced in business circles. The power which they possess in this particular is very great, and too much praise cannot be bestowed upon their wise and timely efforts when necessary in arresting the epidemic of financial panic and distrust. Indications are that New York before many years will supersede London as the clearing house for the world's trade. The first significant step in this direction was made during the past winter, when time bills of exchange drawn on London were largely discounted at lower rates in Wall Street than could be secured in Lombard Street.

One of the most interesting phases of Wall Street due to the Civil War was the speculation in gold, which became a subject of barter and sale with the suspension of specie payments and so continued until resumption. The fluctuating premium which it commanded over an inconvertible paper currency was of far greater importance than the varying prices for any ordinary article of commerce. For though a commodity, and not exercising the functions of a circulating medium at home, it was necessary in the settlement of our balances of trade with foreign nations. It was also required here for the payment of duties and interest on the public debt. Its premium measured the depreciation of the irredeemable paper money, and indicated also in a great degree the state of national credit, and during the war the progress of our arms. Speculation took it up, and it became a foot-ball for manipulators, who saw in its rapid fluctuations chances for quick profits or losses.

Legislation pronounced against trading in it as pernicious and unpatriotic, but the laws of Congress and the Legislature only served to increase

its evils. To adjust values and adapt contracts to its varying gyrations, added an element of uncertainty to all commercial contracts. It made every man an involuntary speculator, the farmer and the importer alike feeling its influence in their calculations. During the first five months of 1862 its premium was small, ranging from 1 to 4 per cent., but military reverses sent it up to 20 points premium on July 21. By December 31, 1862, the premium was 34.

During the years 1863-64 the premium on gold showed extraordinary vibrations with the changing fortunes of war and new emissions of paper money. The premium rose steadily from $33\frac{5}{8}$ January 1, 1863, to $72\frac{3}{8}$ on February 25, the day the National Bank Act was passed. This rise was due to increasing speculation in gold and the growing impression that the war would be of longer duration than formerly supposed. In order to arrest this speculative movement, which was considered as injurious to national credit and interests, the Legislature of the state of New York, on February 18, passed an Act prohibiting all state corporations from loaning money on gold on pain of forfeiture of their charters. March 3, Congress passed a law intended by its provisions to discourage heavy trading in gold. Speculation, when carried to excess on the "bull" side, is invariably followed by a reaction, and so it was with gold, which began to decline at this juncture, and by August 22 the premium was down to $24\frac{1}{2}$. From this point there was a gradual increase to 52 premium December 31, 1863. It rose to 60 in February, 1864, $69\frac{3}{4}$ in March, $84\frac{3}{4}$ in April, $86\frac{1}{4}$ in May, 150 in June, and 185 on the 11th July.

This advancing premium early in the spring began to alarm the people, Congress and the Government, as it deranged all business contracts and exerted a depressing effect on the army and public credit. The Treasury and Congress determined upon the experiment of "bearing" gold, (*i. e.* using their power to depress the premium). There was at that time a considerable coin reserve in the Treasury arising from Custom House receipts, and in March the Secretary was authorized to sell the surplus at his discretion. On the morning of April 14, Mr. Chase arrived in New York, and within five days he sold eleven millions. This broke the premium about ten per cent. in the open market, but the Secretary wrote to President Lincoln: "The sales seem to have reduced the price, but the reduction is only temporary, unless most decisive measures for reducing the amount of circulation and arresting the rapid increase of the debt be adopted."

As soon as these sales had been completed and all fears of the Treasury had been removed, speculation again drove the price rapidly upward. The crowning folly was, however, reserved for Congress, which on June 21

passed the celebrated "Gold Bill" prohibiting the sale of gold in the public market, and intended by its terms to restrict all freedom of action among brokers and thus to destroy speculation. This legislation was not only futile but it aggravated the evil it was designed to remedy. On the 18th of June, the day following the passage of the bill, the premium on gold was $95\frac{1}{4}$, and by the 29th it touched a premium of 150 per cent. Between the date of its passage and July 5 there were no sessions or transactions in the Gold Room. During this interval there was no open market where sellers could meet in competition, and consequently the isolated owners of the actual coin sitting in their offices exacted pretty much their own price. On the 2d July Congress repealed this stupid and disastrous law.

When the Gold Room was opened the large outstanding "Short" interest finding it almost impossible to borrow gold to make their deliveries bought it in, and this pressing demand forced up the premium on the 11th of July to 185.

This was the climax of the market, which had been practically cornered. At this time the Greenback Dollar was worth only $35\frac{1}{10}$ cents in gold. The fever of speculation reacted from this mad delirium, and by September 30 the premium was down to 91. It again revived, and on the 9th of November, the day Sherman set out on his memorable march to the sea, gold was quoted at 260 in currency, or a premium of 160. Six months later, May 11, 1865, the premium was only 28 per cent., showing a decline of 132 points within one hundred and eighty-five days. The issue of the war was no longer in doubt, and the premium on gold thereafter was to be determined either by manipulation or legislation relating to the finances and the restoration of specie payments. November, 1865, the premium was 47; March 24, 1866, 25; June 26, 57; December 31, 33. During 1867 and 1868, 38 was about the average premium. For the first half of 1869 the extreme range of fluctuations was as follows: 35 on the 1st of January; 30, March 6; $44\frac{7}{8}$, May 20; and 33 September 1. This brings us up to the most exciting episode in gold speculation—Black Friday—a day of terrible memories.

During the spring and summer of 1869 there was an unusually heavy demand abroad for our breadstuffs and securities, which reduced the adverse balance of trade. The exports of gold were consequently light. Foreign bankers and merchants in the export trade sold gold in anticipation of orders for the shipment to Europe of securities, merchandise or commodities, and speculators also sold freely for a decline which they assumed would follow the natural conditions of trade. This left the market "oversold,"

that is to say, the sellers had contracted to deliver gold that they did not have, but expected to receive or buy.

The latter part of August a speculative clique or "conspiracy," as it was termed, was organized by Gould, Fisk, and others, whose purpose was to quietly buy up all the actual gold there was in the market and as much more as the "bears" would sell to them for future delivery. When this had been done they designed to quickly bid up the market, and force those who were short to buy their gold from the clique at such a price as the manipulators might arbitrarily determine upon. In other words, it was an attempt to "corner" gold, though the principals in the undertaking denied that such was their original purpose. For some time previous the Treasury, not wishing to hoard gold, had periodically sold moderate amounts of its surplus. As its aggregate reserve at that time was about eighty millions, it will be readily understood that the success of this speculative movement could be largely frustrated by the Treasury, if so disposed. In order to prevent the Treasury from selling they sought to convince President Grant and Secretary Boutwell, upon whose options sales could be made, that in order to enable our farmers to market abroad their surplus products a premium of 40 to 45 on gold was indispensable. This may be explained by saying that a cargo of wheat, for instance, laid down in Liverpool sold for so much gold, and that when the premium in New York was high this gold would command more greenbacks than if it were at a lower premium. In other words, prices for grain would be high, which would cause the farmers to sell freely. This, of course, would reduce our adverse balance of foreign trade after the movement of the crops, and gold would fall in premium of its own weight. To make "assurance doubly sure" they made an effort to interest prominent Government officials in the pecuniary success of their speculative undertaking, but their overtures in this direction were repulsed and defeated.

The latter part of August this clique began to buy gold, and by the 22d of September, according to Fisk's testimony, they held in gold, or calls for its delivery, fifty to sixty millions. Other interested parties estimated the sum at lower figures. There really was not at that time more than eighteen or twenty millions of gold in New York outside the Sub-Treasury. On the 22d, gold closed at 1.40½, a premium of 40½ per cent. On the 23d, they continued to buy, and the market that day left off at 144.

That night they determined to force a crisis on the morrow, though it does not appear that they decided exactly in what manner "the deal" should be closed.

On the morning of Friday, the 24th, orders were sent in to bid gold up,

and the price rapidly mounted to 150, 155, 160. During this time agents of the clique were endeavoring to make private settlements with those who were "short" under threat to put the price to 200. Alarmed by the wild rumors floating in the air that the Government would not sell gold, that prominent officials were interested and that the corner was complete, many bought gold from the clique to make their deliveries or settle their differences on the basis of the advanced price. The control of the Tenth National Bank had been purchased by men directing the manipulation, and it was used by them to certify their checks to enormous amounts and furnish the financial assistance necessary.

The excitement in the Gold Room was at a high pitch and the power of the clique seemed to be omnipotent. A newspaper of the time thus graphically describes the climax of the day: "Amid all the noise and confusion the penetrating voices of the leading brokers of the clique are still heard advancing the price at each bid, and increasing the amount of their bids at each advance, until at last, with voice overtopping the bedlam below, the memorable bid burst forth '160 for any part of five millions.' Again the noise was hushed. Terror became depicted on every countenance. Cool, sober men looked at one another and noted the ashy paleness that spread over all. Even those who had but little or no interest at stake were seized with the infection of fear and were conscious of a great evil approaching. And from the silence again broke forth that shrieking bid '160 for five millions' and no answer; '161 for five millions, 162 for five millions,' still no answer; '162 for any part of five millions,' and a quiet voice said 'sold one million at 162.'

"That quiet voice broke the fascination. The bid of 162 was not renewed. But 161 was again bid for a million and the same quiet voice said 'sold,' and the bid of 161 was not renewed. But 160 was again bid for five millions. Then it dimly dawned upon the quicker witted ones that for some reason the game was up. As if by magnetic sympathy the same thought passed through the crowd at once. There was a rush amid the crowd, new men wild with fresh excitement crowded to the barriers. In an instant the rumor was abroad 'The Treasury is selling.' Quick as thought men realized that it was not safe to sell to the clique brokers. Scarcely any one now wanted to buy. All who had bought were mad to sell at any price, but there were no buyers. In less time than it takes to write about it the price fell from 162 to 135. The great, gigantic gold bubble had burst and half Wall Street was involved in ruin."

Those brokers who bid up the price to 162 found that their orders were repudiated and the richest men in the clique could not be held responsible,

and so they failed to make good their contracts, and those who had sold gold to them at the high prices were left with it on their hands.

The President and Secretary, who were kept advised of the progress of the corner on that eventful day, determined to afford relief as far as possible, as it was ruinous and demoralizing to all business interests, and so they gave the word to sell, at first, four millions. The corner might have been maintained in spite of this had those who were parties to it held faithfully together, but as the conditions were entirely artificial and opposed to a high premium they were all timid and each tried to protect himself, with the result that no one apparently realized much, if any, profit by the transactions. Fisk, when asked why he feared the Treasury sales when his party held calls for five or six times as much gold as there was in New York outside the Sub-Treasury, replied: "Oh! our phantom gold can't stand the weight of the real stuff."

The brokers in gold found that the actual delivery and receipts of gold in the settlement of each individual transaction involved a needless risk and expense, so the Gold Exchange Bank was organized to act in the capacity of a clearing house, so that only differences would be paid or received. On Black Friday this bank and its clearing house machinery succumbed to the panic, losses, and confusion. The leading members of the clique sought to save all they could from the wreck of the day and they procured injunctions and orders of Court, and it was believed that some of the judicial privileges allowed in their interest were obtained by improper influence.

The Gold Room was closed from the 24th to the 30th, and when it re-opened gold sold as low as 130 $\frac{1}{2}$, and by December 31, 1869, the premium was only 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. After this there was no attempt to "bull" the price of gold, and the premium gradually wasted away until it finally disappeared December 16, 1878, a few days before resumption of specie payments became an accomplished fact.

The first dealings in gold began in what is known as the "Coal Hole," a dingy basement in William Street, and later Gilpin's Reading Room became the theater of the speculation. In the Fall of 1864 a regular organization was effected and its membership was of a more homogeneous character. This was the Gold Exchange proper, and it continued in existence until April 30, 1877, when it was formally dissolved by its last President, Mr. C. O. Morris.

A Gold Department of the Stock Exchange was then established, and trading in gold was continued there until greenbacks rose to par, when, like Othello, its "occupation was gone." The war stimulated speculation

of every description and the volume of the banking and speculative business of Wall Street was vastly enlarged. The Stock Exchange furnished unlimited facilities for obtaining capital to build railroads, and as the shares and bonds were multiplied fresh fuel was added to the flame of speculation which large emissions of paper money and Government securities had already ignited. During the war excitement ran so high that brokers traded far into the night up-town, notably at the Evening Exchange at the corner of Broadway and Twenty-third Street, and later on the site now covered by the Madison Square Theater.

This vicious practice was abolished by the joint action of the Stock and Gold Exchanges, which, February 17, 1865, prohibited their members from trading after five o'clock. Wall Street brokers deal in intangible property, and their enormous transactions on the various exchanges are entered into by a hurried word or nod and seldom with observing witnesses. No notarial seals or acknowledgments or elaborate contracts are employed to bind the bargains. Yet it is extremely rare that any purchases or sales are denied or repudiated, even though serious losses might often be averted. The business is based upon man's confidence in man, and without personal honor it could not be transacted at all.

The banking and currency system of to-day and the magnitude of Wall Street's financial power are outgrowths of the Civil War.

Money there, is literally like Faith, "the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen." For singular as it may appear for a street whose trade is in money the thing itself is rarely seen. Checks, bills of exchange, and clearing houses are the active agents which settle over 95 per cent. of all transactions, involving millions daily. It is only in times of panic and distrust, when the value of the substitutes and the integrity of the tokens are questioned that Bank and Treasury vaults fly open to expose their golden treasure.

At the head of Wall Street stands Old Trinity, which for years has guarded the gateway of this golden thoroughfare, and its chimes ring out a daily warning to the worshipers of Mammon, that all is "vanity, vanity and vexation of spirit," and its very spire seems to point out those "treasures where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt."

George Rutledge Gibson

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Interesting Unpublished Letters of Major-General Phillips.

Contributed by John S. H. Fogg, M. D.

Phillips to Heath.

Cambridge Nov: 18th 1777.

Sir.

The Reverend Mr: Brudenell Chaplain to the Staff of the Army has been rob'd by his Servant the last night, who has taken away many things of value.

It is so contrary to the established customs of all civilized Nations to permit private Robberies to escape under pretence of Desertion, that I can have no doubt but you will issue your Orders for apprehending this Villain, and that it may be permitted to have him advertised in the publick papers.

The Reverend Mr: Brudenell will send a description of the Man.

I have the honor to be

Sir, Your most humble Serv^t

W. Phillips.

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed.

Letter from Gen^l

Phillips enclosing

Advertisement of a

Servant.

Nov: 18, 1777.

Cambridge Nov: 1777.

Sir.

I was last Sunday informed that a quarter was provided for me and that I could occupy it on Wednesday morning—the House formerly belonged to a Mr: Phips and is now held of the Committee by Mr: Mason. This morning I receive a message that Mr: Mason and Family cannot go out and consequently I have no quarter.

I will not enter into farther detail upon this subject, only to observe that I require a quarter suitable to my Rank of Major General, and that I will not interfere

about it myself, but depend on you, Sir, for fulfilling the 7th Article of the Convention.

I have the honor to be, Sir

Your most humble
and obedient Servant,
W. Phillips.

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed,
Letter from Gen^l
Phillips relative to
his Quarters.

Nov: 1777.

Cambridge 10th April, 1778, at Night.

Sir.

I have this instant received your Letter of this day's date, in which you inform me that, in consequence of a late Resolution of the American Congress, the Troops of the Convention are to be removed to the interior parts of this State, and, that the Royal Artillery and the Advanced Corps are to hold themselves in readiness to march to Rutland on Monday morning next :—I shall make no comment on the Resolutions of the American Congress, and the two Corps shall have the orders given them.

But, I will take leave to observe, that, I apprehend, this is the first time in any Army of any Nation, under any circumstances, where such a separation of Corps, and such Orders have been given without a participation with, or a previous notice to the General who has been at the head of the Troops :— Common civility and decent good breeding between Gentlemen and Gentlemen might claim such attention, nor does there appear in common or the most refined policy any reason to the contrary.

I am Sir,

Your most humble Servant.

Major-General Heath.

<p>Endorsed From Gen^l Phillips, relative to the Troops being ordered to Rutland. Ap^l. 10. 1778.</p>

W. Phillips.

Cambridge April 15th 1778.

Sir.

The time elapses fast and the reasons for Captain Willoe going to Canada become more pressing as the Season advances. I will therefore request there may be passports granted for Captain Willoe his two servants and three Women to embark in the Vessel hired by me to go for Halifax with a Flag of Truce.

It is, I believe necessary that you give a passport for admitting the Vessels into Nantascet Road, or whatever other port you direct them to go to with the cloathing from Canada, which passes must be taken by Captain Willoe and delivered to the Masters of such Vessels to prevent their being made prizes.

I request the favor of your immediate Answer.

I am Sir

Your Humble Servant

W. Phillips

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed, From Gen^l Phillips
resp^d Cap^t Willoe's going,
passports &c

April 15. 1778.

Cambridge 23^d April 1778.

Sir

I enclose you the report I have this Instant received from Major Carter who Commands the British Troops of the Convention at Rutland, by it you will see how little care has been taken before they marched for their situation at Rutland : but I will hope you will be so good to forward Orders for proper Quarters being provided and that you will take into your consideration the necessity of extending the space of ground around the Barracks so necessary for the Soldiers healths.

I request you will be so good to send me out a copy of the Parole you think necessary for the Officers to sign, of their doing which there can be no doubt when proper Quarters are given to them, and I am of opinion with Major Carter and the Officers that the Tenor of our Parole here might be sufficient.

And I have further to observe that I apprehend the Officer of your Troops commanding at Rutland desires his Authority immediately from you.

I will request the favor of you to send me back the enclosed Report as I have no copy of it.

I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant.

W. Phillips

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed. From Gen^l Phillips

Apr^l 23.

*Heath to Phillips.*Head Quarters Boston April 26th 1778

Sir,

Major Pollard will communicate to you the Contents of a Letter which I have wrote to Major General Pigott in which I assure him that protection & assistance shall from Time to Time be afforded to such Vessels as may arrive at this port with provisions, Cloathing, Wine, Spirits, Tea, Sugar and other small Stores for the Subsistance and Comfort of the Officers and their Families, and the Soldiery of the Convention.

From the whole tenor of my Conduct, Sir, I think you must be satisfied that it is my wish and intention to extend to the Officers of the Army the Utmost Generosity, but on this Occasion I think it proper to observe that while I have been and still am determined to grant every Indulgence to the Officers and their Families which is Compatible with the duty of my Station, I do disapprove of and am determined to prevent any of the Inhabitants of this Town or State purchasing or procuring Goods or Necessaries for themselves or Families from any Port or place in Possession of the British Troops. And I think it further necessary to observe on this Occasion that if any Articles eatable or drinkable or of Cloathing furniture or Ornaments shall be brought consigned to the Officers of the Army but really designed for or intended directly or indirectly to be conveyed to any Inhabitant of this Town or State, I shall conceive it to be my duty to detain such articles, Or if I should hereafter find that any articles are directly or indirectly secretly conveyed, I shall be compelled to the Necessity of laying such Prohibitions as will effectually prevent such practises : at the Same Time shall be sorry to do it to the Injury of those who I most sincerely wish to treat generously.

A small bundle containing Several Table Cloths is sent to my Quarters from Cambridge addressed to I Carter Esq. I apprehend they were designed for Capt. Carter of the Artillery and sent here through mistake of the Truth of which I wish to be informed.

I am Sir

Your Ob^l. Servt.

W. Heath.

Major-Gen^l. Phillips.

*Phillips to Heath.*Cambridge April 26th 1778.

Sir,

Major Pollard your Aide-de-Camp gave me to read a letter wrote by you to Major General Pigot containing an agreement concerning the receiving and delivering Provisions sent or to be sent from Rhode-Island.

I will take leave to observe that as these Provisions are to be allowed entrance into your Port of Boston and that the Troops of the Convention of Saratoga are to be fed with them all charges are by this means saved to America, it seems, therefore, severe, I will venture to say a little oppressive that the Transport of this provision by land should not be left in payment to the British Commissarys especially as the common prices would be paid, and the Country not Suffer.

The State give up the providing Provisions while we can do it, and consent to receive them from Rhode Island or New York for the British Army.

Surely Massachusetts present Government will not become Waggoners and enter into a *State* bargain for such a purpose.

Major Morrison however informs me you have, Sir, your doubts of the propriety of this measure and intend writing to the Congress upon it, and that all payment is to stand over untill an Answer is sent to you from the Congress.

I find the Council of Boston object to M^r. Leonard being on shore, I apprehend you will perceive the great inconvenience of this, and endeavour to prevail on the Council to soften the austerity of their measure, at least, Sir, I must request that Mr. Clarke our Commissary General here may be permitted a free intercourse with the American Commissary General, and have leave to go into Boston occasionally on publick business. Mr. Clarke's purity of manners, and gentility of behavior is so well known, that he cannot be suspected of giving or wishing to give umbrage or offence. I take for granted the issue of Provisions to the Troops of the Convention will be made from those lately recieved from Rhode Island.

It is unnecessary to remark, Sir, upon the British publick faith in the strict and honorable proceedings of Lieu^t. General Burgoyne and Major General Pigot and I make no doubt of similar conduct on your part.

I am Sir

Your humble servant

W. Phillips.

Major-Gen^l. Heath.

Endorsed

From M Gen^l. Phillips

April 26, 1778.

MINOR TOPICS

GRIFFIS'S COMMODORE PERRY

AN ERRONEOUS IDEA CORRECTED

In Mr. Griffis's interesting and valuable memoir of Commodore Mathew Calbraith Perry, in the May number of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, it is stated that "the squadron (in the Gulf of Mexico) was divided into two divisions of steam and sail vessels, and Perry was ordered to command those that carried their motor with them" (p. 429).

I am aware that this impression was abroad, and that it was even entertained by some naval officers. This idea, which implies a joint command and consequently divided authority, is incorrect. The truth is, as the orders and official correspondence show, the whole force, known as the "Home Squadron," was under the sole, undivided command of my father, Commodore Conner, during all the time that Commodore Perry was in the Gulf until the 21st of March, 1847, when Commodore Conner transferred it to Commodore Perry, who then became its commander-in-chief. Down to the last date given, Perry's position in the squadron (after he had conveyed to it the reinforcement of two gunboats, mentioned in subjoined official documents) was but that of a captain, and his command but that of a single ship—the *Mississippi*. He was authorized to wear the red pendant of a second-in-command; but, nevertheless he was expressly told by the Secretary of the Navy that this mark of rank was to afford him no additional authority or emolument over and above what was common to his actual position, as stated above. Perry had already commanded a squadron, hence the conveyance of two gunboats with the ultimate charge of but a single ship, was, as the secretary says, an "inferior command;" but it was the only one then open, and it was offered to Perry in consequence of his repeated applications for active service, his zeal therefore not permitting him to remain unemployed in a time of war, a feeling greatly to his credit and to the credit of the other officers that shared it with him.

I add the official orders and dispatches relating to the subject.

P. S. P. CONNER,

126 So. Eighteenth Street, Philadelphia.

May 25th, 1885.

(Copy.)

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

August 20, 1846.

Commodore :

Your several letters of the 14th, 15th, and 17th instant have been received.

As soon as the two new steamers *Spitfire* and *Vixen* shall be, in all respects, ready for sea, you will assume the command of them.

I enclose you, herewith, copies of orders sent to Capt. Stringham and Commander Nicholson, of the 18th and 19th inst. You will consider them so far modified, that if it will not occasion more than two days' delay, the two steamers may leave New York together and proceed to Havana, from which port you will send Commander Nicholson to Chagres in the steamer which may prove best calculated for that service.

You will then proceed to join the squadron in the Gulf of Mexico, under command of Commodore Conner, and upon your arrival at Vera Cruz, you will report to that officer for the purpose of relieving Captain Fitzhugh in the command of the U. S. steamer *Mississippi*.

If a greater delay will be occasioned by the foregoing arrangement than is anticipated, you will direct the steamer which may be first prepared to proceed at once with Commander Nicholson in conformity with the enclosed orders, and when ready, you will proceed yourself to join the squadron in the other steamer.

You are authorized to hoist a red pendant, if you think proper, but your command and pay, after joining the squadron, will not be affected by it.

Very respectfully,

Yours,

(Signed)

GEO. BANCROFT

COMMODORE M. C. PERRY,
NEW YORK.

(Copy.)

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

August 22, 1846.

Commodore :

Commodore Perry, having consented to accept an inferior command, has been ordered to proceed to the Gulf of Mexico to relieve Captain Fitzhugh in the command of the U. S. steamer *Mississippi*.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the order addressed to Commodore Perry, of

the 20th instant, together with copies of letters to Capt. Stringham* and Commander Nicholson,* therein referred to; also a copy of the order to Capt. Fitzhugh,* of the 21st instant.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) G. BANCROFT

COMMODORE DAVID CONNER,
Com'g Home Squadron.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN

The strong prejudice which existed against President Buchanan at the breaking out of the Civil War, and not yet entirely dispelled from the minds of many of his political opponents, may, in a great degree, be truly ascribed to a misapprehension of his real motives and modes of action. As a case in point, there is a little piece of secret history, which, in justice to his memory, ought no longer to be kept concealed. It relates to a private letter of his to Ex-President Tyler, which was found among Mr. Tyler's papers when his house was entered by United States soldiers during the war. It was written when the Peace Convention, presided over by Mr. Tyler, was in session in Washington. The warmest relations existed between him and President Buchanan, and great hopes were based on the action of that convention. As a matter of course, the President was anxious to avoid everything which might, in the remotest degree, disturb its tranquillity, and in deference to Mr. Tyler's judgment and wishes, he had indicated a willingness to dispense with the usual parade of United States troops on the occasion of the celebration of Washington's Birthday, the 22d of February. Meantime, as a matter of routine, the Secretary of War, Hon. Joseph Holt, had, without of course consulting the President, given the customary order calling out the troops on that day. Meeting the Secretary late on the evening of the 21st, the President, having committed himself to Mr. Tyler, was much concerned to learn that such an order had been issued, and that, in all probability, it was too late, as it proved, to prevent its insertion in the *National Intelligencer*, to which it had in the regular course of events been sent for promulgation. Greatly fearing from Mr. Tyler's representations, that the people might accept the display as a menacing demonstration, especially as a troop of Flying Artillery, just ordered from the West for the protection of the Capital, was to form part of the military procession, the President at once directed that the order be countermanded, and General Scott was so informed in time to prevent the assembling of the United States troops on the morning of the 22d. All this, however, was unknown to the people, who had filled the streets and avenues in expectation of witnessing the grand parade; and after waiting impatiently an hour or

* Of no consequence in this connection.—P. S. P. Conner.

more for the appearance of the United States troops, only the militia of the District having come out, a startling rumor reached the ears of the crowd that the order which had appeared in the *Intelligencer* calling out the troops had been countermanded; thereupon a distinguished friend of the President hastened to the War Department, where he found the President and Secretary of War together, and in a state of great excitement, inquired if the rumor was correct. Learning that it was, his earnest protest and representations made so deep an impression on the President that he authorized the Secretary of War to confer immediately with General Scott in order to see, late as it was, if the original order could not be carried into effect. This was done, and although General Scott said the soldiers had been dismissed and all of the officers had doffed their uniforms, rendering it doubtful whether the order could be obeyed, nevertheless, he would, if possible, see it executed. Fortunately he succeeded and everything passed off well. The next morning the *Intelligencer* said:

"The military parade was of course the chief feature of the day. It might be said the double military parade, for while that of the morning was composed of the militia companies only, there was a subsequent general parade in which the United States troops formed a conspicuous part. The Artillery were the especial mark of interest, and their parade on Pennsylvania Avenue dissipated all sense of fatigue from the thousands who had been abroad from almost 'the dawn of day.' The rapidity with which the guns and magazines were manned and prepared for action was startling to those unaccustomed to artillery practice. While they were on the avenue they were at times as completely enveloped in the dust they stirred up as they would have been in the smoke of battle."

Thus, we have briefly, the main circumstances under which the following letter was written, on account of which letter President Buchanan has been severely censured. It was a simple explanation to Mr. Tyler of the reasons which had led him to permit the military display, that under the previous understanding would not otherwise have taken place.

WASHINGTON, Feb'y 22, 1861.

My dear Sir:

I find it impossible to prevent two or three companies of the Federal troops from joining in the procession to-day with the volunteers of the District without giving serious offense to the tens of thousands of people who have assembled to witness the parade. The day is the anniversary of Washington's birth—a festive occasion throughout the land—and it has been particularly marked by the House of Representatives. These troops everywhere else join such processions in honor of the birthday of the Father of his country, and it would be hard to assign a good reason why they should be excluded from this privilege in the capital founded by himself. They are here simply as a *posse comitatus* to aid the civil authorities in case of need. Besides, the programme was published in the *National Intelligencer*

of this morning without my knowledge, the War Department having considered the celebration of this national anniversary by the military arm of the government as a matter of course.

From your friend, very respectfully,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Mr. TYLER.

Happily, as already observed, the celebration was a success; and what was especially gratifying, the presence and wonderful manœuvring of the light artillery companies, not forgetting the splendid bearing of the dragoons, and the dismounted companies headed by Duane's detachment of sappers and miners, had the effect to allay, in great degree, the feeling of insecurity which for some time had existed to an alarming extent, not only in Washington, but throughout the country, before the arrival of these troops.

HORATIO KING.

WASHINGTON, D.C., June, 1885.

THE MANUFACTURE OF NAILS

This was one of the household industries of New England during the eighteenth century. In a speech in Congress in 1789, Fisher Ames said: "It has become common for the country people in Massachusetts to erect small forges in their chimney corners; and in winter, and in evenings, when little other work can be done, great quantities of nails are made even by children. These people take the rod iron of the merchant and return him the nails, and in consequence of this easy mode of barter the manufacture is prodigiously great."

Nearly all the bloomary and refinery forges and old-style furnaces of New England have long since disappeared, and in their stead have grown up reproductive iron industries of almost endless variety and vast extent, employing large numbers of skilled mechanics, and adding greatly to the productive wealth of the country. The rolling mills, machine shops, hardware establishments, nail and tack factories, foundries, and other iron enterprises of New England, together with a few steel works and modern blast furnaces, form to-day a striking contrast to bog-ore and other bloomaries, not much larger than a blacksmith's fire, and the small charcoal furnaces and chimney-corner nail factories of the last century.—*Swank's Iron in All Ages.*

NOTES

AN AMERICAN PRINCESS—A gentleman in the Admiralty has lately received a present from a friend in North America, being the body of an American Princess, supposed to have been buried upwards of four hundred years ago ; it was enveloped in a goat's skin, and appears as fresh as if buried but yesterday.—*The Middlesex Journal*, London, Nov. 28, 1772.

PETERSFIELD

REINFORCEMENT OF FORT SUMTER IN 1861—Extract from a Cabinet paper, Washington, March 15, 1861, from the pen of William H. Seward. "The question submitted to us by the President practically is : Supposing it to be possible to reinforce and supply Fort Sumter, is it wise now to attempt it, instead of withdrawing the garrison ?

The most that could be done by any means now in our hands would be to throw two hundred and fifty to four hundred men into the garrison with provisions for supplying it five or six months. In this active and enlightened country, in this season of excitement, with a daily press, daily mails, and an incessantly operating telegraph, the design to reinforce and supply the garrison must become known to the opposite party at Charleston as soon at least as preparation for it should begin. The garrison would then almost certainly fall by assault before the expedition could reach the harbor of Charleston. But supposing the secret kept, the expedition must engage in conflict on entering the harbor of Charleston ; suppose it to be overpowered and destroyed, is that new outrage to be avenged, or are we then to

return to our attitude of immobility ? Should we be allowed to do so ? Moreover, in that event, what becomes of the garrison ?

I suppose the expedition successful. We have then a garrison in Fort Sumter that can defy assault for six months. What was it to do then ? Is it to make war by opening its batteries and attempting to demolish the defenses of the Carolinians ? Can it demolish them if it tries ? If it cannot, what is the advantage we shall have gained ? If it can, how will it serve to check or prevent disunion ?"—*Baker's Diplomatic History of the War for the Union*.

CONTINENTAL UNIFORMS—The following items appear in a list of clothing received from Boston and Philadelphia at Albany for the use of the Northern Army in 1777 :

"Rifle shirts, Private and Sergeants coats, blue faced red, brown faced red, brown faced white, brown faced green, drab faced red, drab faced green. Drummers and fifers coats, green faced blue. Cloth breeches and waistcoats of a red, flesh color, and common color, and striped homespun woolen. Leather and strong linen breeches. White Dowlas shirts."

W. K.

HISTORY—It does not require any vast amount of experience to see the aid and practical benefits derived from a knowledge of general history, for we can scarcely take up a subject that is not linked and related to the past. The very words we use in common conversation have their origin in the past. The

broadened mind, the enlightened views, the cosmopolitan feelings derived from the careful study of past and present people and events, is of more practical benefit than we can well estimate. It will pervade our whole being though we may never stop to mention, in so many words, a single historical event. Education should be expansive, with an outward look toward the human and national needs, and make one competent for the demands of the times. Through history are we enabled to understand the significance of the present, for the present has its root in the past. What humanity has thought and achieved in bygone centuries has left its record. Children should be educated for good citizens and hence they must be able to see what constitutes a good and free nation by comparisons. The institutions by which we are surrounded, the laws which protect us, the liberties we enjoy, are all the fruits of somebody's thinking, somebody's suffering and somebody's achieving in the past.—*Educational Weekly*.

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 DATES OF SECESSION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES—

South Carolina ..	December 20...	1860.
Mississippi	January 9. . .	1861.
Florida	January 10.....	1861.
Alabama	January 11.....	1861.
Georgia	January 18.....	1861.
Louisiana	January 26.....	1861.
Texas	February 11.....	1861.
Arkansas	March 4.....	1861.
Virginia	April 17.....	1861.
Tennessee	May 6.....	1861.
North Carolina ..	May 20.....	1861.

O. B.

THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA—Mr. R. A. Brock, the learned Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, in a foot-note to the second volume of the "Spotswood Letters," page 16, gives the following list as a perfect set of the published collections of the Laws of Virginia:

I. Laws of Virginia now in Force [Francis Moryson], folio, 1662.

II. Laws passed at a General Assembly held March, 1662.

III. Collection of Laws, 1652-82, dedicated to Lord Effingham, by J. P. [known as the Purvis collection], 4to, London, 1686.

IV. Acts of Assembly from 1662, 4to, London, 1728.

V. Collection, folio, W. Parks, Williamsburg, 1733.

VI. Abridgement, by John Mercer, Williamsburg, 1737, and Glasgow, 1759.

VII. Acts since 1631, folio, Williamsburg, 1752.

VIII. Acts in Force, folio, Williamsburg, 1769.

IX. Acts of 10th George III., W. Rind, Williamsburg, 1770. Acts 2d Sess. 1771.

X. Acts since 1768 in Force, folio, Richmond, 1785.

XI. Abridgement by Edmond Randolph, 4to, Richmond, 1796.

XII. Revised Code, 3 vols., 8vo, 1819.

XIII. Statutes at Large, Henning, 13 vols., 8vo, Richmond and New York, 1813-21. Continuation of the same, 3 vols., 8vo, S. Shepherd, 1835.

XIV. Codes of 1849, 1860, and 1873, 8vo.

XV. A new revision is now being made.

COLLECTOR

A DINNER WITH PRESIDENT BUCHANAN—At the Soldiers' Home, near Washington, I was invited by the officer whose quarters he occupied to meet President Buchanan at dinner, one day in the fall of 1860. There were some twelve or fourteen persons at the table, including the Bishop of Maryland. In the general conversation that ensued, it happened that the probable action of the Southern states in the pending trouble was discussed. The opinion was expressed that several of them would secede. Already several officers of the army and navy from those States had resigned. Mr. Buchanan seemed to be much annoyed, and said little. Presently some allusion was made to Massachusetts, when the President said, with considerable warmth, "I wish Massachusetts would secede; she is practically already out of the Union by her action in the fugitive-slave matter."

Now, I being a Massachusetts man, felt rather awkwardly at this. Questions as to what I ought to do coursed rapidly through my brain. Suddenly an inspiration seized me. Looking up at the President, who was directly opposite me, I said with mock humility, "Mr. President, if Massachusetts should secede, would it be my duty to resign from the army, sir?" There was a dead silence. The President looked a little confused and asked, "Are you from Massachusetts?" "Yes, sir," said I; "but I have been a good deal in California, and became very fond of that state, which makes me feel like saying of it as the Irish soldier did, when asked where he came from, 'I was born in Ireland, sir; but I call Illinois my native State.'" This created a good laugh, and the conversation afterwards took a more general turn.—*Townsend's Anecdotes of the Civil War.*

QUERIES

COOL AS A CUCUMBER—Is this expression an Americanism? I have repeatedly heard it in the United States, but never in London.

PICCADILLY

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION OF BURNS—The first edition of the poems of Robert Burns was printed at Kilmarnock by John Wilson, in 1786. It is exceedingly scarce, selling as high as \$500 per copy. What was the date of the first American edition, and where can a copy be examined?

COLLECTOR

THE SWORD OF UNCAS—At a *conversazione* in the home of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, March 8, 1823, the following minute was made of an interesting relic

exhibited to the company: "The real Sword was produced that is alleged to have been worn by Uncas, the famous Sachem of the Mohegans. This powerful Chief, as the annalist Dr. Holmes relates, in the year 1638 went to Boston, professed allegiance to the government of the new settlers or whites, and was ever afterwards faithful to them. This weapon is a dirk, whose blade resembles a Malay creese, and is fifteen inches long. The hilt, scabbard, and outer-guard, are hard wood. It is of European manufacture, and was probably presented to him by some person of high authority in Massachusetts."

Is this interesting weapon preserved in any public or private collection?

PETERSFIELD

REPLIES

O. K. [xiii. 598]—The earliest use of "O. K." of which I find trace was said to have been General Jackson's fashion of indorsing applications for office—he having been a bad speller and intending the abbreviation as the initial letters of "*oll korrekt*." This attributing the origin of the long familiar equivalents in popular parlance of "all right" to Jackson is said by Schele de Vere (in his "*Americanisms*," N. Y. 1872, p. 277) to have come from Major Jack Downing (Seba Smith), but I have not found it in the Jack Downing Letters, first published in 1833.

Mr. Geo. Bancroft (to whom I put the query in a two-hours' saddle trip on Sunday) says that some time in the 40's the Democrats, twitted by the whigs with illiteracy, adopted the "O.K." phrase thrown at them in scorn, and laughed it into general vogue.

A. R. SPOFFORD

WASHINGTON, June 1, 1885

PATRICK HENRY [xiii. 598]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In reply to the inquiry of R. W. Judson in your June number, I would say that Patrick Henry was named after his uncle, Rev. Patrick Henry, of Hanover County, Virginia, and wrote his name with 'junior' attached until his uncle's death.

WM. WIRT HENRY

RICHMOND, Va., June 8

FIRST STATE CHARTER [xiii. 598]—The inquiry is made, what state was the first to receive its charter after the Declaration of Independence?

States do not receive charters, they make for themselves constitutions. By the Declaration of Independence the "United Colonies" was transformed into the "United States," and each individual colony became a state. The charters which had many years before been given to Rhode Island and Connecticut provided so well for local government that these states used them as constitutions, the former till 1842, and the latter till 1818; but the other states made constitutions very soon after 1776. No one of the United States ever received a charter; no one would take a charter. Nor is there power lodged with any department of our government to give a charter. A.

MARIETTA, Ohio, June 5

MOON CURSER [v. 140, 383; vi. 61; viii. 145]—Wreckers were called Moon cursers. In September, 1770, Capt. Biddle, of Philadelphia, while on a voyage from Port-au-Prince, saw a wreck on Watling's Island, "the crew of which had left her, and gone to Providence in what was called one of the Moon cursers or wreckers." Dark nights made business for them. W. K.

MATCH COATS [vi. 60, 225, 382]—Did not this Colonial garment derive its name from the color of the cloth? Chambers' Dictionary, of 1743, describes the manufacture of the military match used for artillery, mines, fireworks, etc., as a rope made of hempen tow, "boiled in the lees of old wine, hence its colour."

MINTO

SOCIETIES.

THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated January 1885. New York officers for current year: Cardinal McCloskey, Honorary President; Richard H. Clarke, LL.D., President; General Charles P. Stone, Vice-President; Marc F. Vallette, A.M., Corresponding Secretary; Cornelius M. O'Leary, M.D., LL.D., Recording Secretary; Patrick Farrelly, Treasurer; Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D., Librarian. Trustees, Rev. Richard L. Burt-sell, D.D., Rev. James H. McGean, Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D., LL.D., John R. G. Hassard, Charles Carroll Lee, M.D., Franklin H. Churchill.

The first public meeting of this society was held at the University Club Theater, May 14, on which occasion able addresses were made by Fred. R. Coudert, Esq., General Charles P. Stone, and John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. There was a large and appreciative audience.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held a meeting May 8. A paper on "Admiral Bailey at Key West" was read by Charles B. Moore, a member of the society. The subject of the address was a native of New York, born in 1803, who at fifteen entered the navy as midshipman. He was second in command under Farragut, where he led the attack and passage of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and afterwards was most successful in blockade-running on the coast of Florida, the admiral being then in command of a squadron with head-quarters at Key West.

THE NEBRASKA UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION held its fourth regular meeting May 29. Mr. Ed. Rich, of Nebraska, presented an interesting and valuable paper on the "Jews in America." Professor Jesse Macy, of Grinnell, Iowa, also furnished an interesting paper on the "Relations of the University to Practical Politics." The next regular meeting was appointed for September 17, 1885.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY has had a field day. The steamer *Philadelphia* left its wharf on South Water Street on the morning of June 7, with about eighty passengers, consisting of the Society and its guests. In two hours the party reached Wickford, where it was welcomed by Governor Wetmore and David S. Baker, and taken to many points of great historic interest, and entertained at dinner, after which there were many brilliant speeches.

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held a meeting at Newark, May 21, on which occasion Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D.D., of New York, delivered an able address on the life and character of Hon. William A. Whitehead, the eminent historian of New Jersey. An interesting paper was also read by General James Grant Wilson, of New York, on "Judge Samuel Bayard of New Jersey, and his London Diary of 1795-6." Resolutions were passed expressing the sympathy of the Society with the family of the late Hon. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen in their bereavement.

CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

I

In the following list the compiler has included all the titles of publications of historical societies obtainable from an examination of the collections of the Boston Public Library and the Massachusetts Historical Society, as well as the inspection of the printed catalogues of the larger libraries, and from notices found in serial publications devoted to historical subjects. In September, 1868, there appeared in the *Historical Magazine* a bibliography similar in scope to the present undertaking. Since that time the number of historical societies has largely increased, and consequently a much more extended list of publications is now possible. In the report of the Bureau of Education on the Libraries of the United States, there is an account by Dr. H. A. Homes of the principal historical societies, with some notice of their publications. The following special bibliographies have appeared at various times: Baldwin's Notice of Historical and Pioneer Societies of Ohio, forming Western Reserve Historical Society Tract No. 27; Dr. S. A. Green's Bibliography of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Vol. 12 of the Proceedings of the Society; Paine's Bibliography of the American Antiquarian Society, and Lee's Bibliography of the Maryland Historical Society. The bibliographies of States, such as Gilman's Vermont and Thomson's Ohio, have been consulted with advantage in the preparation of the present list. The admirable catalogues of the Wisconsin Historical Society have also been fruitful sources of information. Acknowledgments are due to Dr. Samuel A. Green and his assistant, Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, for their kindness in facilitating in every way the consultation by the compiler of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library. Intelligence of omissions in this list will be gratefully acknowledged.

GENERAL.

UNDER THIS HEAD ARE ENTERED THE NAMES OF SOCIETIES, WHICH HAVE NO SPECIAL HEAD-QUARTERS.

American Historical Association.

PAPERS. Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2. N. Y., 1885. 2 pphs. 8vo. *Contents.* 1—Report of the organization and proceedings, Saratoga, Sept. 9, 10, 1884, by H. B. Adams. 44 pp. 2—On studies in general history and the history of civilization, read before the association, Sept. 9, 1884, by A. D. White. 28 pp.

Historical Club of the American [Protestant Episcopal] Church.

FAC-SIMILES OF CHURCH DOCUMENTS. Papers issued by the Historical Club of the American Church, 1874-79. Privately printed. 188 pp. 8vo.

ALABAMA.

Alabama Historical Society, Tuscaloosa.

- ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY, July 13, 1858. By N. L. Whitfield. *See* Historical Magazine, 3:66 where this title is given, but without imprint.
- ALABAMA HISTORICAL REPORTER. Published under the auspices of the Alabama Historical Society. Vols. 1, 2, 3. (Nos. 1-3). Oct. 1879. March, 1885. Tuscaloosa, 1879-84. 3v. 8vo.
- CONSTITUTION, July 8, 1850. Tuscaloosa, 1850, 12 pp. 8vo.
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HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF CONNECTICUT FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN PERIOD TO 1850. By J. W. De Forest. Published with the sanction of the Society. Hartford, 1853. xxvi., 509 pp. Folded map. 8vo.

Same. Albany, 1871. xxvi., 509 pp. Folded map. 8vo

A LETTER FROM THE REV. THOMAS HOOKER OF HARTFORD, IN ANSWER TO THE COMPLAINTS OF GOV. WINTHROP, OF MASSACHUSETTS AGAINST CONNECTICUT. From the first volume of the Collections. Hartford, 1859, 18 pp. 8vo.

ORIGIN OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST TICONDEROGA, IN 1775. Read before the Society, January 5, 1869, by J. H. Trumbull. Hartford, 1869. 15 pp. 8vo.

Fairfield County Historical Society, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION, BY-LAWS, LIST OF MEMBERS AND FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING, April 14, 1882. Bridgeport, 1882, 38 pp. 8vo.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ROGER MINOTT SHERMAN, THE EMINENT CONNECTICUT JURIST, 1773-1845. By W. A. Beers. Delivered before the Society, November 28, 1882. Bridgeport, 1882, 48 pp. 8vo.

SKETCH FROM THE LIFE OF REV. JAMES BEE-

BEE, soldier and preacher, who, from May 8, 1747, to September 8, 1785, was pastor of the church of Christ at North Stratford, (now Trumbull, Connecticut), written by R. C. Ambler. Added Mr. Beebee's address to the people in 1758, when they departed with him to Fort George to fight the Indians and the French. Read before the Society, September 8, 1882. Boston, 1884. 32 pp. 8vo.

Litchfield County Historical and Antiquarian Society.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS, April 9, 1856, before the society, on the occasion of completing

its organization. By G. H. Hollister. Hartford, 1856, 24 pp. 8vo.

Apkleton D. C. Griffin

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(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICES

THE CENTENARY OF CATHOLICITY IN KENTUCKY. By Hon. BEN J. WEBB. 8vo, pp. 580. 1884. Louisville, Kentucky: Charles A. Rogers.

In addition to the history of the Church in Kentucky for the century of its existence just closing, the volume contains the details of Catholic emigration to the State from 1785 to 1814, with life sketches of the more prominent among the colonists as well as of the early missionary priests of the State and very many of their successors.

This large mass of more or less skillfully arranged records will be of great service to future historians of the Roman Catholic Church. The compilation has evidently been a labor of love, and has received the willing assistance of many clerical gentlemen who induced the author to enter upon it. So very much alike are the artificial divisions of humanity, and so close are their essential resemblances, that it would be an easy task to strip the denominational garb from one author, and by simply putting on other ecclesiastical vestments completely transform him. Mr. Webb is an illustration of the fact. He conscientiously believes that his is the true Church of Christ: so does the Campbellite or Disciple of Christ of his church. He holds that the past era of his body in Kentucky is one of grand Christian heroism: so does the Methodist of his body. He recounts the deeds and sufferings of the past to increase the zeal of his co-religionists in the service of God: so does the Presbyterian. He delights to relate the details of theological encounters between Roman Catholic priests and preachers of other sects, in which the former are always victorious: the Baptists have a peculiar knack of triumphing in the same way. He recounts the particulars connected with the organization of his church—its seminaries, colleges, charitable institutions, convents, etc.: the Protestant Episcopalian fully equals him in love of organization and faith in machinery. There is oneness in human nature after all; a oneness that points to a possible unity in Christ. The points of agreement in the different members of the body are more than the points of disagreement. Whatever the ecclesiastical or theological prepossessions of the readers of this book may be—that is to say, if they do read it—they cannot fail to recognize in the patient zeal, loving toil, and confident hopefulness of the characters recorded, the elements of genuine discipleship to the Lord and Master of us all.

The book itself, in respect of materials, literary style, and arrangement, is in thorough harmony with the persons and period of which it treats.

HISTORY OF THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN ALL AGES, and particularly in the United States for three hundred years, from 1585 to 1885. By JAMES M. SWANK. 8vo, pp. 428. Published for the Author. Philadelphia.

This work embodies the results of an intelligent and leisurely study of a most interesting and important subject. The author traces the use of iron to the earliest ages of antiquity. The seventh great-grandson of Adam was "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron," as described in the fourth chapter of Genesis. The early Egyptians were familiar with its manufacture, as were the Arabians, the Chaldeans, and the Babylonians. At Babylon iron was used in the fortifications of the city prior to its capture by Cyrus in the sixth century before Christ. In a celebrated inscription Nebuchadnezzar declares, "With pillars and beams plated with copper and strengthened with iron I built up its gates." His daughter, Nitocris, built a bridge, the huge stones of which were held together by bands of iron fixed in place by molten lead. The Phœnician merchants obtained iron from such distant countries as Morocco and Spain. The iron ores of Elba were worked by the Greeks as early as 700 B.C. Some of the swords and javelins of the Romans were made of iron and steel in the fourth century before the Christian era. The iron industry in Spain was the first in the world for many hundred years after the Romans obtained a foothold in the country. For a hundred years after Cæsar's time only faint glimpses are furnished of an iron industry in France: that of Sweden had an existence as early as the thirteenth century. Mr. Swank then proceeds to give the characteristics of early iron manufacture, particularly in America: and the progress of the industry is treated with a skilled hand. We learn also of the impediments to the cheap production of iron and steel in this country, through high wages and the high cost of transportation. "We are to-day," writes the author, "the second iron-making and steel making country in the world." A more useful or interesting book could hardly be conceived or produced.

LETTERS FROM HELL: Given in English by L. W. J. S.; with a preface by GEORGE MACDONALD, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 300. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Very singular productions these are. Imagination has been subjected to high pressure in order to produce them. Yet the author has not lost

sight of the spirit and letter of the Holy Scriptures in composition. They have the color of probability. This is all that could be expected in view of our exceedingly limited knowledge of the condition of the lost. Weird, somber, and terrible, it is well-nigh impossible to read them without sensations of shuddering horror. If such be the feeling in dim prospect, what must experience of reality be? No harm can come from reading this book. On many temperaments its influence will be wholesome, and stimulative to diligence in making one's calling and election sure.

George Macdonald's preface is worthy of his reputation. The book itself, originally written in Danish, then translated into German, and from the German into English, possesses many affinities with his peculiar characteristics. That, in the order of Providential arrangement, man makes his own future, is very clear to him; nor does he deny that persistence of moral character necessarily implies persistence of sequence. Where the element of hope enters into the eschatology of the lost he fails to point out. Inscrutable mystery, freezing dread appertain to the whole subject. The Judge of all the earth will do right.

LOUIS PASTEUR. *His Life and Labors.* By his son-in-law. Translated from the French by LADY CLAUD HAMILTON. 16mo. pp. 300. 1885. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The fashion of writing ante-mortem biographies has been condemned in many quarters, but whatever may be alleged of it as an offense against what we call good taste, it has at least this recommendation—the subject of the memoir can revise the proof sheets, and if he chance to be blessed with common sense, can revise them to good advantage. M. Pasteur's remarkable investigations and discoveries have occupied so large a place in the scientific world of late that an authentic account of their inception and development must be acceptable to a large number of readers.

"You should postpone that until I am no longer here," said Mr. Pasteur when the author first proposed his plan.

"Why so?" was the reply. "No; it's you living that I wish to paint—you in full work, in the midst of your laboratory."

An introduction by Tyndall greatly adds to the value of the work, and shows the estimate formed of the Frenchman's discoveries by his great English contemporary. In the text of the book itself, all the processes of thought and experimental work are set forth in a style which is free from pedantry, and which nevertheless will command respectful attention from the hypercritical professional world in which M. Pasteur has met so much criticism, as well as so much appreciative consideration. His remarkable conclusions re-

garding the germ theories of disease are daily gaining strength, and whatever may be the final verdict concerning them, they mark an epoch in the progress of exhaustive scientific research.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLT. *Its Causes, Condition, and Prospects.* By EDMUND NOBLE. 16mo, pp. 269. Boston, 1885: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

By "the Russian Revolt," Mr. Noble means the spirit of reform which had its birth under the iron rule of Peter the Great, and has continued with various interruptions and side issues to the present day. The analysis of Russian characters and customs is very searching and peculiarly timely at this period of diplomatic history. The curious survival of Nomadic instincts, the influences of climate, association with Byzantine traditions, the gradual influx of western civilization, mysticism, religion, and the modern outcome of all these in the present condition of Russia and her dependencies, are discussed in most entertaining and instructive style. The last chapters are devoted to the general relations of Europe to the future of the vast Empire, and while the author is manifestly disposed to look favorably upon what he finds to admire in the Russian, he is still severe enough when he touches upon the Siberian question and upon the maladministration of justice, and upon the underlying principles of absolutism which form the foundation of imperial rule. The revolt, he says, is the protest of eighty millions of people against a principle and method of government hostile to the common weal. That Russia has a great destiny and is steadily developing a capacity to be worthy of it, he firmly believes.

PARADISE FOUND. *The Cradle of the human race at the North Pole. A study of the prehistoric world.* By WILLIAM F. WARREN, S.T.D., LL.D., (with original illustrations). Second edition. 12mo, pp. 505. 1885, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

If the Garden of Eden was really located at the North Pole, the students of history, literature, and religion have the study of some very curious problems in prospect. This work is, to all appearances, a thoroughly serious and sincere attempt to present what is, to the author's mind, "the true and final solution of one of the greatest and most fascinating of all problems connected with the history of mankind." Dr. Warren claims that until the location of the starting point of the human race is settled, the historian, the archaeologist and the paleontological anthropologist are all working in the dark, and none of those interested in ethnology, philology, theology or sociology, can construct a theory not liable to overthrow or serious modification when any new light shall be thrown on

the mother-region of the race. His chapter on the testimony of astronomical geography, to sustain his hypothesis, is curiously interesting. He says, "whoever seeks as a probable location for Paradise the heavenliest spot on earth with respect to light and darkness, and with respect to celestial scenery, must be content to seek it at the Arctic Pole. Here is the true City of the Sun. Here is the one and only spot on earth respecting which it would seem as if the Creator had said, as of his own Heavenly residence, 'There shall be no night there.'" The imperfect character of the evidence he brings forward to prove his position through Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Babylonian, Ancient Egyptian, and Ancient Greek thought is such, however, as to expose it to refutation at innumerable points. From the mythical or sacred geography of the Old Persians Dr. Warren succeeds in making his case tolerably clear—that the world of living men was originally the northern circumpolar hemisphere. The book is instructive, even to those who fail to be convinced of the truth of the theory advanced, that the cradle of the human race, the Eden of primitive tradition, was situated at the North Pole in a country submerged at the time of the deluge. It will aid theologians in meeting some modern objections to the biblical history of the race. The author's view of the ancient cosmology, originally presented four or five years ago in the Boston University Year Book, attracted the attention of scholars in every part of the world, among whom were Mr. Gladstone, Professor Tiele, of the University of Leyden, and many others. Great industry, ingenuity and scholarship are evinced in the production of this volume; and we commend it to the careful attention of the cultivated reader.

VOLTAIRE'S ROMANCES. Translated from the French. With numerous illustrations. Complete in one volume. 12mo. pp. 448. New York, 1885: Peter Eckler.

The recent popular demonstration in Paris at the obsequies of Victor Hugo recalls the day, when after the success of the French Revolution, to which his genius had largely contributed, the remains of Voltaire were removed to the Pantheon by order of the National Assembly, and deposited between Descartes and Mirabeau. With them now are the ashes of as great a genius as any of them, and the protest of Romanist prelates against this last interment in the Pantheon shows that the bigotry against which Voltaire so earnestly fought is not yet dead. The present edition of the romances is timely, and appears in very creditable shape, though the titular claim of completeness for the volume is hardly to be reconciled with certain omitted passages, marked by asterisks in the text. These passages, however—which we have not taken

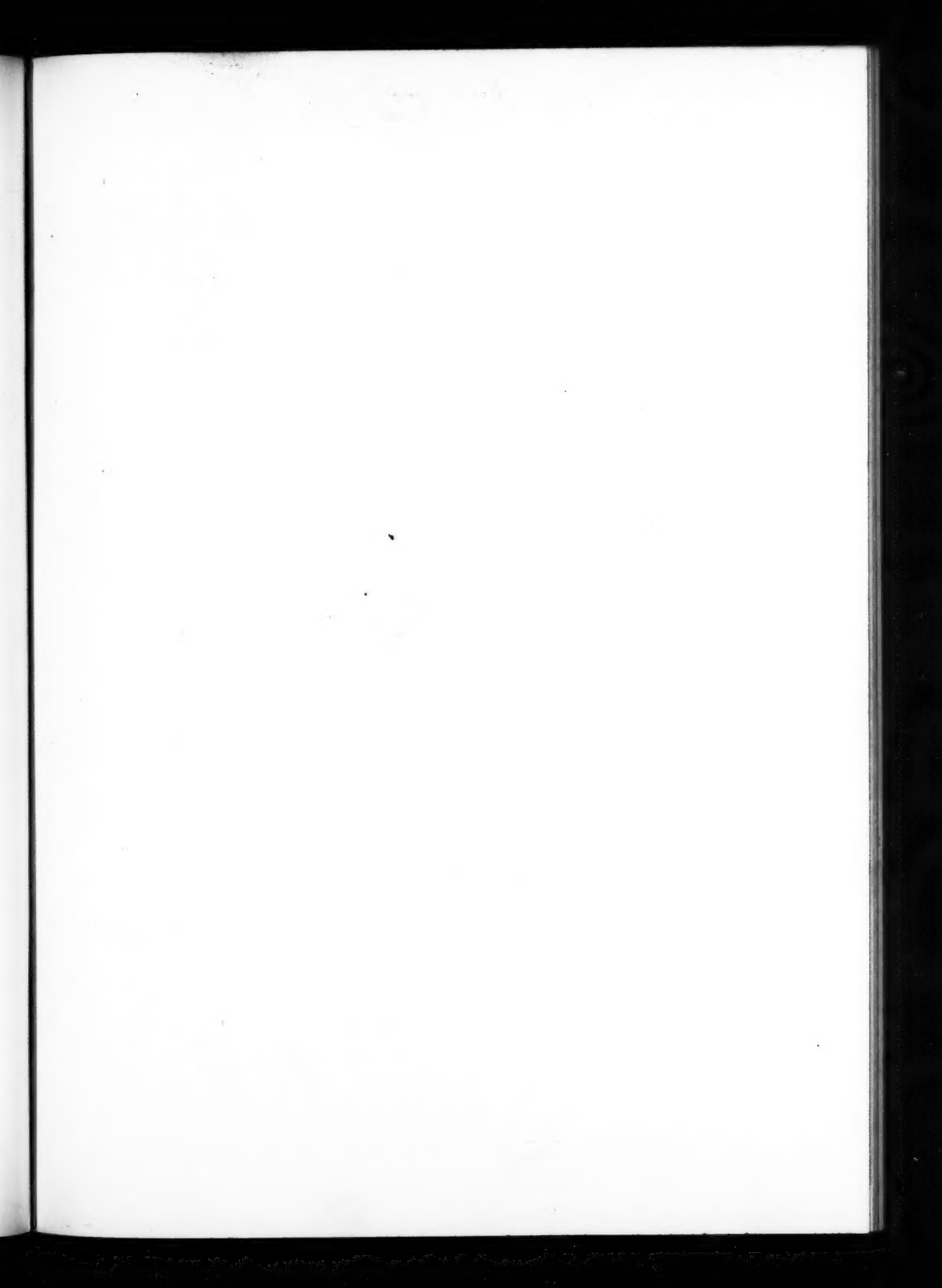
the pains to look up in the original—were no doubt omitted out of a very judicious consideration for the more fastidious taste of the day, and of the American public. While Voltaire's satire was as keen and fine pointed as a rapier, the influences of the age coarsened his wit. If modern French wit is not admissible in English, what shall we say of that current two centuries ago? These objectionable passages have been in the main, eliminated, leaving the romances all the better for the pruning. Still, we cannot avoid the conviction that if these tales were offered nowadays to a first-class magazine, they would be possibly returned to the author with the editor's thanks.

BERMUDA. An Idyl of the Summer Islands. By JULIA C. R. DORR. 16mo. pp. 148. 1885. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This pleasant record of life in the sub-tropic islands, now so well known as a sanitarium, grew out of an "Atlantic" paper published a few years ago, and substantially incorporated in the present work. Miss Dorr is too well known to the American public to need an introduction, and it is enough to say that she has a genuine love of the subject, of Nature and of the even poetic atmosphere which surrounds the "Summer isles of Eden" to call out her best descriptive powers. The narrative is sprightly, and seems unconsciously to carry a certain plot of its own which makes it very agreeable reading even for the summer tourist who can only look forward to Bermuda as a possibility for next winter. A small general map of the Atlantic, and a detailed map—the best we remember having seen—of the islands themselves, add greatly to the value of the volume.

AMERICAN LANGUAGES, and Why We Should Study Them. AN ADDRESS delivered before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, March 9, 1885. By DANIEL BRINTON, M. D. Pamphlet. 8vo. pp. 23. 1885. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

Dr. Brinton makes an eloquent plea in this little work for a neglected branch of learning—that of American aboriginal languages. He admits that it is a study usually considered hopelessly dry and unproductive. At the same time he presents some cogent reasons why we should have fellowships and professorships for instruction in the tongues of our own land as well as for teaching the dead languages and dead religions of another hemisphere. He says this knowledge is as important to the philosophic study of speech as that of the structure of any of the dialects of Greece or India.





JOHN A. DIX,

Major General Commanding the Department of the East, 1864.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Vol. XIV

AUGUST, 1885

No. 2

BEGINNINGS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

(Continued from page 40.)

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN, moved by the extreme gravity of the situation, granted an informal interview to the South Carolina Commissioners, touching the objects of their mission, on the 28th of December, or within forty-eight hours after Anderson's pregnant movement. Courteously received, they were informed that as "Congress was the only competent tribunal" to act on any proposition "they might have to offer," he would communicate it to that body; therefore the interview was barren of any desirable result. On the same day, it appears, they also addressed a formal note to the President, an ill-judged paper both in tone and scope, no doubt materially warped thereto by the provocation of the unexpected tidings that had followed so quickly upon their heels of what Major Anderson had done.

Their note was ill-conceived, because its chief request, "the withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston," was so couched that it could but serve to complicate the situation for Mr. Buchanan—a statesman who, with a deep sense of the fast-approaching calamity with which the hours were lag, was ardently desirous of averting from his countrymen the incalculable misfortune of a sectional civil war. His answer, a long one, bears date of the 30th of December, and suffice to say, in effect, he refused either to withdraw the troops of the United States from the harbor of Charleston or to restore the *status quo* in that quarter. To this there was an immediate rejoinder on the part of the commissioners in its tone sufficiently unkind and heedless of the President's well-known earnest disposition to remove all sources of sectional discord as to lead him to return it with the endorsement that it was of such character that the President "declines to receive it."

* Here in the North possibly it has become a matter of almost unmovable historical faith that before the secession of South Carolina, the War Department, under Secretary Floyd, systematically conspired or required in all possible ways, the military strength of the Government within the Southern States. And yet there is abundant, easily-found evidence to the contrary, even in connection with the fortifications of Charleston harbor, some of which must be briefly adduced: Early in August, 1860, Captain John G. Foster, United States Engineer Corps, visited by two accom-